



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

WIDENER LIBRARY



HX GPDP 0

SEVEN DAYS'  
BOOK.

*P231.2*  
*KF605*

Bound  
AUG 27 1906



**Harvard College Library**

FROM THE REQUEST OF

**JOHN AMORY LOWELL,**

(Class of 1815).

This fund is \$20,000, and of its income three quarters  
shall be spent for books and one quarter  
be added to the principal.









# THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

VOLUME IX  
APRIL—JUNE, 1906

LONDON  
PUBLISHED BY T. FISHER UNWIN  
AT THE OFFICE, 1 ADELPHI TERRACE, W.C.  
1906



P231.2

RICHARD CLAY & SONS, LIMITED,  
BREAD STREET HILL, E.C., AND  
BUNGAY, SUFFOLK.

# THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

VOLUME IX. APRIL—JUNE, 1906

## INDEX

(Names of Contributors are in *Italics*)

	PAGE		PAGE
Algeria Seen by the Eye of Faith. <i>N. Wedd</i> . . . . .	227	<i>Jackson, Cyril</i> . Flaws in Elementary Education. . . . .	45
Anti-militarism in France. <i>Urbain Gohier</i> . . . . .	264	Kaffirs and Consols. <i>F. W. Hirst</i> . . . . .	193
Archbishop Temple. <i>H. Rashdall</i> . . . . .	206	Labour College, A. <i>E. Bruce Forrest</i> . . . . .	80
<i>Belloc, Hilaire, M.P.</i> The Desert . . . . .	200	Liquor Taxation. <i>J. A. Hobson</i> . . . . .	341
Blake, William, The Poetry of. <i>G. L. Strachey</i> . . . . .	215	<i>Maitland, F. W.</i> Henry Sidgwick . . . . .	324
<i>Byles, A. Holden</i> . The Elberfeld System in England. . . . .	159	<i>Masterman, C. F. G., M.P.</i> The New Parliament . . . . .	144
<i>Chesterton, G. K.</i> The New Humility. . . . .	292	<i>Mitchell, I. H.</i> Conciliation and Arbitration in Trade Disputes . . . . .	310
Cobdenite, A. <i>F. W. Hirst</i> . . . . .	116	New Humility, The. <i>G. K. Chesterton</i> . . . . .	292
Conciliation and Arbitration in Trade Disputes. <i>I. H. Mitchell</i> . . . . .	310	New Parliament, The. <i>C. F. G. Masterman, M.P.</i> . . . . .	144
Darwin and Mendel. <i>L. Doncaster</i> . . . . .	174	Notes on Current Events . . . . .	1, 122, 242
Denominational Schools, Future of. <i>Michael Sadler</i> . . . . .	253	On a Northern Moor. <i>Marna Pease</i> . . . . .	336
Desert, The. <i>Hilaire Belloc, M.P.</i> . . . . .	200	Political Aspirations of Scotland. <i>J. W. Gulland, M.P.</i> . . . . .	279
<i>Doncaster, L.</i> Darwin and Mendel. . . . .	174	<i>Rashdall, Rev. Hastings</i> . Archbishop Temple . . . . .	206
<i>Earp, F. R.</i> George Marlowe . . . . .	91	Religion and Metaphysics. <i>Hon. Bertrand Russell</i> . . . . .	109
Education, Flaws in Elementary. <i>Cyril Jackson</i> . . . . .	45	REVIEWS—Books Reviewed:	
<i>Eiloart, Arnold</i> . A West Indian Ireland . . . . .	298	Boyhood and Youth of Napoleon, The. <i>G. M. Trevelyan</i> . . . . .	234
Elberfeld System in England, The. <i>A. Holden Byles</i> . . . . .	159	Esto Perpetua: Algerian Studies and Impressions. <i>N. Wedd</i> . . . . .	227
Electoral Abuses. <i>W. J. Fisher</i> . . . . .	34	Henry Sidgwick: A Memoir. <i>F. W. Maitland</i> . . . . .	324
Flaws in Elementary Education. <i>Cyril Jackson</i> . . . . .	45	History of Modern Liberty, A. <i>Rev. J. Neville Figgis</i> . . . . .	353
Florentine Movement, The. <i>Aelfrida Tillyard</i> . . . . .	71	Lyrical Poems of William Blake, The. <i>G. L. Strachey</i> . . . . .	215
<i>Forrest, E. Bruce</i> . A Labour College . . . . .	80	Memoirs of Archbishop Temple. <i>H. Rashdall</i> . . . . .	206
<i>Forster, E. M.</i> Rostock and Wismar . . . . .	332	Nature of Truth, The. <i>Hon. Bertrand Russell</i> . . . . .	349
Future of Denominational Schools. <i>Michael Sadler</i> . . . . .	253	Poetical Works of William Blake, The. <i>G. L. Strachey</i> . . . . .	215
George Marlowe. <i>F. R. Earp</i> . . . . .	91	Sir Louis Mallet: A Record of Public Service and Political Ideals. <i>Francis W. Hirst</i> . . . . .	116
<i>Gohier, Urbain</i> . Anti-militarism in France . . . . .	264	Some Dogmas of Religion. <i>Hon. Bertrand Russell</i> . . . . .	109
<i>Gulland, J. W., M.P.</i> Political Aspirations of Scotland, The . . . . .	279	Taxation of the Liquor Trade. <i>J. A. Hobson</i> . . . . .	341
<i>Hirst, F. W.</i> A Cobdenite . . . . .	116		
<i>Hirst, F. W.</i> Kaffirs and Consols . . . . .	193		
<i>Hobson, J. A.</i> The Taxation of Monopolies . . . . .	20		
<i>Hobson, J. A.</i> Liquor Taxation . . . . .	341		
<i>Holyoake, G. J.</i> , The late. Woman Suffrage . . . . .	61		

# INDEX

	PAGE		PAGE
<i>Robertson, John M., M.P.</i> The Secular Solution . . . . .	133	<i>Strachey, G. L.</i> The Poetry of Blake . . . . .	215
Rostock and Wismar. <i>E. M. Forster</i> . . . . .	332	Taxation of Monopolies, The. <i>J. A. Hobson</i> . . . . .	20
<i>Russell, Hon. Bertrand.</i> Religion and Metaphysics . . . . .	109	Temple, Archbishop. <i>Rev. Hastings Rashdall</i> . . . . .	206
<i>Russell, Hon. Bertrand.</i> What is Truth? . . . . .	349	<i>Tillyard, Aelfrida.</i> The Florentine Movement . . . . .	71
<i>Sadler, Michael.</i> The Future of: Denominational Schools . . . . .	253	Trade Unions and the Law. <i>Philip Snowden, M.P.</i> . . . . .	11
Scotland, the Political Aspirations of. <i>J. W. Gulland, M.P.</i> . . . . .	279	<i>Trevelyan, G. M.</i> Sentimentalist or Tiger? . . . . .	234
Secular Solution, The. <i>John M. Robertson, M.P.</i> . . . . .	133	<i>Wadd, N.</i> Algeria Seen by the Eye of Faith . . . . .	227
Shadow and the Substance, The. (Two French Plays) . . . . .	184	West Indian Ireland, A. <i>Arnold Eiloart</i> . . . . .	298
Sidgwick, Henry. <i>F. W. Maitland.</i> . . . .	324	Woman Suffrage. <i>The late G. J. Holyoake</i> . . . . .	61
<i>Snowden, Philip, M.P.</i> Trade Unions and the Law . . . . .	11		

THE  
INDEPENDENT  
REVIEW

HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY  
APR 10 1906  
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

VOL. IX. NO. 31

APRIL 1906

CONTENTS

**NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS**

**TRADE UNIONS AND THE LAW**

PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P.

**THE TAXATION OF MONOPOLIES**

J. A. HOBSON

**ELECTORAL ABUSES**

W. J. FISHER

**FLAWS IN ELEMENTARY EDUCATION**

CYRIL JACKSON

**WOMAN SUFFRAGE**

THE LATE G. J. HOLYOAKE

**THE FLORENTINE MOVEMENT**

AELFRIDA TILLYARD

**A LABOUR COLLEGE**

BY A RESIDENT

**GEORGE MARLOWE**

F. R. EARP

**REVIEWS OF BOOKS**

LONDON PUBLISHED BY  
T. FISHER UNWIN

TWO SHILLINGS AND SIXPENCE NET



Wir empfehlen zum Abonnement:

## Sozialistische Monatshefte

Internationale Revue des Sozialismus

Herausgegeben von J. Bloch

Administration: Berlin W., Lützow St. 105

Preis pro Quartal 1,50 Mark; Einzelheft 50 Pfennig

**DIE SOZIALISTISCHEN MONATSHEFTE** sind ein unabhängiges Organ für Theorie und Praxis des Sozialismus, eine Revue des geistigen und sozialen Lebens auf dem Boden sozialistischer Weltanschauung.

**DIE SOZIALISTISCHEN MONATSHEFTE** dürfen sich rühmen durch die in ihnen veröffentlichten Arbeiten zur Klärung der Anschauungen innerhalb des Sozialismus beigetragen zu haben. Sie stehen politisch auf dem Standpunkt der deutschen Sozialdemokratie, arbeiten aber nicht einseitig im Sinne einer bestimmten Richtung oder Doktrin innerhalb der Partei.

**A**N den **SOZIALISTISCHEN MONATSHEFTEN** arbeiten die ersten Kräfte des internationalen Sozialismus mit, Führer der Gewerkschafts- und Genossenschaftsbewegung, namhafte Vertreter der Wissenschaft und der Kunst. In den bisherigen Jahrgängen sind Beiträge veröffentlicht von:

Dr. H. B. Adams-  
Lehmann  
Johani Aho  
Jean Allemane  
Edouard Anseele  
Dr. Leo Arons  
Ignaz Auer  
Max Baginski  
Dr. Gustav Bax  
E. Belfort Bax  
Eduard Bernstein  
Dr. Leonida Bissolati  
Cari Bleibtreu  
Wilhelm Bölsche  
Hjalmar Branting  
Julius Bruns  
Richard Calwer  
Ria Claassen  
Ignacy Daszynski  
Dr. Eduard David  
Gertrud David  
Richard Dehmel  
Gabriel Deville  
Emil Eichhorn  
Kurt Eisner  
Dr. W. Ellenbogen  
Adolph von Elm

Friedrich Engels  
Anton Fendrich  
Prof. Enrico Ferri  
Edmund Fischer  
Eduard Fuchs  
Henriette Fürth  
Adèle Gerhard  
Paul Göhre  
Maxim Gorkij  
Dr. Curt Grottewitz  
Dr. L. Gumplowicz  
Julius Hart  
Wolfgang Heine  
Dr. Friedrich Hertz  
Hugo v. Hofmannsthal  
Ricarda Huch  
Otto Hue  
Emma Ihrer  
Jean Jaurès  
Paul Kampfmeyer  
Simon Katzenstein  
Heinrich Kaufmann  
James Keir Hardie  
Dr. C. v. Kellen-Kraus  
Ellen Key  
Dr. Ludwig Klages  
H. van Kol

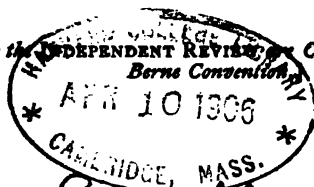
Wilhelm Kolb  
Alwin Körsten  
Olav Kringen  
Gustav Kuhl  
Otto Lang  
Georg Ledebour  
Carl Legien  
Johann Leinpieters  
Theodor Leipart  
Camille Lemonnier  
Friedrich Lessner  
Wilhelm Liebknecht  
Dr. Hugo Lindemann  
Dr. Heinrich Lux  
Maurice Maeterlinck  
Tom Mann  
Max Marchall  
Saverio Merlino  
H. Molkenbaur  
Adolf Müller  
Dr. Hans Müller  
Oda Olberg  
Engelbert Perner-  
storfer  
Adelheid Popp  
Dr. Max Quarcik  
Prof. Ellise Reclus

Max Schippel  
Johannes Schlaf  
Therese Schlesinger-  
Eckstein  
Dr. Conrad Schmidt  
Karl Eugen Schmidt  
Robert Schmidt  
Leonold Schönhof  
Dr. Mathien Schwann  
Bernard Shaw  
Helene Simon  
Prof. F. Staudinger  
Helma Steinbach  
Jakob Stern  
Dr. Albert Südekum  
Johannes Tunn  
Dr. Claudio Treves  
Dirk Troelstra  
Filippo Turati  
Paul Umbreit  
Prof. E. Vandervelde  
W. H. Visser  
Georg von Vollmar  
Dr. Bruno Wille  
Dr. Ignaz Zadek  
Dr. Georg Zeppler  
Wally Zeppler u. a. m.

Probehefte stehen auf Verlangen jederzeit **kostenfrei** zur Verfügung.

Verlag der Sozialistischen Monatshefte G. m. b. H., Berlin W 36.





Lowell Fund

# THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

## NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

**THE** natural disappointment of those advocates of retrenchment who expected Mr. Haldane to be able to cut down the Army Estimates by five millions, combined with the equally natural, but somewhat inconsistent disappointment of those advocates of various pressing social reforms who have been met by a chilling *non possumus*, has produced a certain amount of soreness and dissatisfaction among the supporters of the Government. On the one hand, there are some who regret that Major Seely should have pressed his amendment on the Army Estimates to a division; on the other, there are those who resent Mr. Asquith's epigram of "a week of economy." It would be idle to deny that this apparent difference of attitudes represents a real and deep difference of ideals among the two chief sections of the majority. The question is: whether those ideals, admittedly different, are necessarily antagonistic at the present juncture.

Government  
Finance

The ideal of economy or retrenchment, the classical ideal of the Manchester School, is the natural ideal of a middle-class Party; and, if rightly interpreted, should be welcomed by all true reformers. Waste is, economically speaking, a sin; because waste implies loss of opportunity. Dirt has been defined as "matter in the wrong place"; and the

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

peculiar curse of waste is that it diverts to unproductive outlets a stream which might turn the wheels of social reform or productive enterprise. But there is always a danger lest the avoidance of waste should come to be regarded as synonymous with cutting down expenses ; for some forms of cutting down expenses are suicidal, while all are incomplete, unless the money saved by the process is actively employed in productive or other ameliorative processes. "Take care of the pence, and the business will take care of itself," is a perversion of an old maxim which has ruined many a once-flourishing firm ; and, just as the shrewd business man rejoices to see his expenses mounting in certain directions, so the reformer will rejoice to see the expenditure of the State increasing in certain quarters. It all depends on what, and how effectively, the increased expenditure is laid out.

Now it is quite certain that the present Parliament contains a large number of vigorous and thoroughly representative men who decline to accept the **Social Reform** negative attitude implied in the ideal of retrenchment. Retrenchment is, in their opinion, good, so long as it is applied to really wasteful expenditure. But, in so far as it is regarded as a policy applicable to all State expenditure, they will have none of it. For they regard that policy as based on the radically false assumption, that the collective action of the community should be reduced to a minimum. And accordingly, while they are willing to join hands with the advocates of retrenchment in cutting down extravagance, they regard the policy of retrenchment as incomplete, unless it is accompanied by a constructive scheme for the investment of the funds saved from extravagant uses. Further than that, they are fully aware that no reasonably practical scheme of retrenchment will produce sufficient, or half sufficient money, to carry out those economic, educational, and social reforms upon which, as we think, rightly, they believe the country to be set. Wherefore they find it necessary to formulate a constructive scheme, based on sound economic principles, for the

## NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

automatic expansion of the State or public revenue at a rate which shall enable these reforms to be carried out within a reasonable time. A scheme of this kind is outlined in the interesting article by Mr. J. A. Hobson, which is published in this Number.

Now it is possible that the advocates of pure retrenchment do not realise the intensity of the feeling behind this movement. But the strategic possibilities of the position have not escaped the eyes of the shrewder among their political foes, who would like nothing better than to drive a wedge into any promising split in the ranks of the Government's supporters. And though, at present, the alliance of the Social Reformer and the so-called Tariff Reformer may appear chimerical, we must not forget that more unlikely things have happened. The great mass of the Labour vote is at present convinced of the folly of Protection ; for it has been made to realise vividly the immediate disadvantages which would follow from a return to a Protective system. But it has none of the dogmatic fervour on the subject which characterises the true adherent of the Manchester School. It realises that, as things stand at present, a Protective system would be worked for the advantage of the capitalist. But its leaders have heard of communities where that system is being worked, at least ostensibly, by Labour in the interests of Labour ; and, as Mr. Keir Hardie has quite frankly stated, given sufficient inducements, it will consider the question of Protection with an open mind. Whether these inducements ever arise, depends largely upon the attitude of official Liberalism in the present Parliament. If the Government continues too long its *non possumus* attitude, if it regards the fiscal maxims of the individualist school as the unalterable bases of State finance—then the alliance of the Tariff Reformers and the Social Reformers will be only a question of time. If, on the other hand, the Government is prepared to admit that fiscalism is a progressive science, that financial policy ought to change with change of political and social environment and the development of the social



## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

conscience, then it should be able to reconcile the advocate of retrenchment and the advocate of social reform, and bring into existence that great, enlightened, united, and progressive Party, which will constitute an effective bulwark against any reaction in favour of economic jugglery or political barbarism. The responsibility is indeed great.

Liberals are, as we have said, almost bound to view the recent army debates with mixed feelings. But the voting on Major Seely's motion for an immediate reduction of the army would fairly represent the divided state of the minds of many individuals. Hope, that is to say, predominates over disappointment. Making every allowance for the need for time to develop his policy, and remembering the very real economies which Mr. Haldane actually effected on the swollen Estimates which he found preparing when he came into office, it would have been a great relief to have had some palpable reduction in the Army to point to as an earnest of the new era. That feeling of disappointment, however, was not really enough to justify the extremity of a division to which Major Seely resorted. For the ideas of reform which Mr. Haldane has outlined are a greater security for economy than pledges. No policy has before to-day been put forward which contained in it the elementary requirements of a great reduction. But Mr. Haldane's policy is of that nature. The main tenets of the Blue-water school are accepted. We are, therefore, relieved from the imminent fear of serious invasion. We are allowed to devote our minds to the problems of an ultimate war outside Great Britain. For such wars in general a small, very efficient striking force is required. Our present army is larger than necessary. It is not nearly efficient enough. Ultimately we need a power of unlimited expansion, for which we can safely depend on a partially-trained citizen army. In any great war for Empire, or existence in India or elsewhere, we should have time to prepare. That being so, a barrack-drilled people is unnecessary. We can afford time; and therefore, if we encourage the mass of our

## NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

youth voluntarily to engage in shooting and drilling up to a limited standard, we shall have the material out of which to make our citizen force when the time of trial comes. In this view of the situation, which reduces itself to two simple principles—the high efficiency of a much smaller regular army than at present, and the unstinted encouragement of a much larger Volunteer force than at present—lies the safe course for a democratic Party. But Mr. Haldane will have to be bold in his application of his principles, if he wants to win the confidence of this democratic Parliament.

The case for a great extension of small holdings is, we believe, overwhelming. Its possibility is a matter, not of argument, but of clear and definite experience. We recognise, however, that the case has sometimes been over-stated. The advocate declares that the whole of England could be cut up into small farms; the opponent points to districts where the thing would be manifestly impossible, and from this infers that the whole movement is the creation of faddists from town. It is this unfair inference which the reformer has to combat; and it can only be combated effectively by clearly understanding when and where small holdings actually succeed. This knowledge has not hitherto been available; but it has now been supplied by the Co-operative Small Holdings Society in a pamphlet entitled *The Small Holdings of England: An Enquiry into the Conditions of Success*, obtainable at the Society's office, 10, Adelphi Terrace, W.C., and based on minute reports on the small holdings already in existence. The pamphlet, as well as the reports, is the work of Miss Jebb, herself a small farmer and one who has given much study to the subjects of small farming and co-operating.

Its conclusions are new; and, based as they are solely on facts of English experience, they are of the greatest importance. Broadly speaking, it is found that there are

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

six conditions, the presence of any one of which, apart from the others, is enough to make small holdings succeed. These are: good soil, suitable climate, common rights, agricultural piece-work in the neighbourhood, proximity to mines or trades, and good markets or means of communication. It follows from this, that the districts into which small holdings might be extended are far less limited than has often been supposed. Indeed, there are probably few in which one or other of these essentials is not to be found—especially when we remember that co-operation in the disposal of produce is practically equivalent to a near market. The desire for land, provided it can be held under those conditions which enable a man to reap the full benefit of his own industry, is found to be almost universal.

A New  
Experience

Protection has not been killed by one General Election. The Valentine has been followed by the agitation against Sir Edward Clarke. As emphatically as the country has rejected Tariff Reform, so emphatically has the Tory Party hastened to adopt it. The choice before England is a very serious one. Either a Liberal supremacy of the same extent and duration as the Unionist supremacy of 1886–1905, or else Protection. Now Protection means for England the loss of commercial supremacy, the gradual impoverishment of her working class, and the corruption of her politics on the American model of demagogic plutocracy. Thanks to Mr. Balfour, the Liberal Party alone stands between England and these evils. Nor do we think that a Liberal supremacy of sufficient duration, though it is probable, is by any means certain. The wealthy classes in this country exercise enormous political power—far more than they do in France, where there are less wealth and more equalitarian feeling, and where feudalism and the *bourgeoisie* have never been welded into one class and Party. Nearly all the members of the English wealthy classes will swallow Protection rather than vote for the Liberals at the next Election. The question then is : Can the Liberals persuade the democracy to out-vote the

Protection Classes  
and Parties

## NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

classes and their dependents ? Mr. Chamberlain is to have a free hand to try and shake the allegiance of Labour to Free Trade ; and if he cannot get the Labour leaders, he may at least get some of the Labour vote. This makes it more than ever necessary for the Liberal Government, here and now, to show to Labour that Liberal rule means social reform and not merely the talk of it. Furthermore, we would urge upon Liberals and Labour men alike, the urgent necessity of considering at once whether the Second Ballot should not be set up by an Act of the present Parliament. However much gratitude the Government collectively may earn from the Labour Party, there are sure to be numerous constituencies where, at the next Election, three-cornered contests will take place. If the Second Ballot is not then in operation, the Protectionist will be returned in many Free Trade strongholds. On what principle of justice or expediency should the country be misrepresented on the first question of the age ?

The attitude of the Opposition on Chinese Labour is humorous ; because it is that of men who are met by a force they do not understand, which they despise, Chinese Labour and cannot therefore gauge. The Conservatives, as a Party, really think Chinese Labour to be a decent, tolerable, just, and civilised institution for an imperial people to patronise. They cannot believe we are serious in hating it. They catch at inconsistencies and exaggerations in the various phrases by which the objectionable institution has been dubbed, to prove to a perfectly deliberate electorate that it did not vote soberly. They challenge the Government either to admit that it is not slavery and that the country has been hoodwinked, or to show its consistency by abolishing the institution. To their unfeigned astonishment, the Government actually accepts their challenge, and declares that in three years the whole thing shall go. In their confused fury, the Conservative leaders do not at first know what line to take. Shall they try to catch Labour votes by objecting to the delay of three years ? That fails. Finally, they

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

decide on a solemn protest against the announcement that the Transvaal will not be permitted to impose servile conditions when it becomes self-governing. This then is to be the line of attack. Are we, to quote Mr. Balfour, to allow "the crotchets of Downing Street" to thwart the will of the Colony? Are its "nearest and dearest interests to be under the heel of Downing Street?" "Is this the Imperial ideal of Liberals?" "We, who have governed the Empire, know," etc., etc.

Certainly it is an announcement to all the world of a new Imperial policy. But need Liberals fear it? We

must certainly be scrupulously jealous of

Why not? any interference with self-governing colonies.

But that does not mean that on all Imperial questions the collective will of the Empire is to be in abeyance. What is the *raison d'être* of the Empire, except it be some common civilisation, some standard which we are determined to hold as a minimum? Clearly there are times when we are bound to enforce the collective will. No Conservative would deny that a colony which passed a law permitting negro slavery after the pattern of South Carolina before 1860 would expect such a law to be vetoed. The question is not whether all vetoing is wrong, but whether this would be a bad enough case for Imperial intervention. The Liberal and Labour Parties think it would be. They do not anticipate the likelihood of a freely and fairly elected Parliament voting a Compound law. We believe better of the people of the Transvaal than to suppose they think that to be their "nearest and dearest interest." But if they did, have we not the right, in the names, not of ourselves only but of the whole Empire, to forbid the introduction of the Chinamen under servile conditions? There is one way in which the Government may set itself absolutely right. Let it ask for the sanction of the self-governing Colonies at the Colonial Conference. Why should we not appeal for a common agreement as to the minimum of freedom for Labour which can be permitted in the Empire? We know the self-

## NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

governing colonies are on our side. Let the Government appeal to them to strengthen its hands when the time comes, by a resolution condemning Chinese Labour under the conditions permitted in the Transvaal, as not permissible in a free Empire. There can be little doubt as to the nature of the response to such an appeal.

While we in England have been revelling in a General Election and a new Liberal Government, one of the great catastrophes of world-history has been proceeding almost unnoticed by us—the complete temporary failure of the Russian revolution, and the triumph of reaction in its worst and most cruel form over the great race whose good or evil destiny will so largely determine the destiny of mankind as a whole. While we have been pre-occupied with the great change of our own Government from a dirty grey to a rather lighter shade of the same colour, Russia has passed, almost without remark in our Press, from red anarchy to the blackest night of despotism. The Government, which began the battle by wholesale murder of its petitioning subjects last January, is now bringing the battle to an end, and hopes to bring the whole movement to an end also, by exterminating once for all, the more liberal and revolutionary spirits. It may succeed in grinding up all the best seed-corn of the country, and so preventing the possibility of development in Russia for many generations—perhaps for ever. It may succeed as the Inquisition succeeded in Spain. Or it may fail, as Austria failed in Italy. But, at any rate, it is now having a try. What is England's attitude to be while this fearful tragedy is running its course?

If Russia were a little place, like Naples in Palmerston's day, we might talk about interfering—and then not interfere. But as it is a big place, we cannot even swagger, as "Pam" used to do against "Bomba." If it were a Republic, and the terror were a revolutionary terror, the propertied classes

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

would expect us to withdraw our ambassador, according to precedent. If it were a people which had murdered its King, as in Servia, we should officially cold-shoulder the Government of assassins. But as it is only a king murdering his people, we shall go on treating the Czar as if he were the head of a civilised Government. And, to say the truth, as we don't want to go to war, it is almost the only thing to do.

But at least we can keep our doors open to the fugitives from this frightful oppression. There are two ways in which the new Aliens Act has degraded England from the proud position of Land of Refuge, which won for her the devoted attachment of Garibaldi and of all generous-minded men on the Continent, fifty years ago. First, the Aliens Act, as recently administered, did turn back a few of the political refugees from Russia who presented themselves at our gate. Mr. Walter Rothschild, M.P., stated that these men had been shot on the Russian frontier on their return. We hope he was wrongly informed; but the statement is intrinsically probable, and no official denial from St. Petersburg is worth anything at all. Secondly, the Aliens Act not only made it harder for some few refugees to enter England, but it made it harder for many to escape from Russia. For a shipping company naturally refuses to take men on to its ships if it thinks there is a real chance of their being rejected at the port of disembarkation, and sent back at the company's expense. Of this, the largest evil caused by the Act, we see and hear nothing, because the transaction takes place oversea. And for a refugee not to be able to leave a German port, is to run the greatest risk of being sent back to Russia. Nothing but the legislative alteration of the principal clauses of the Act will secure that this country shall remain, as it was until this year, the Land of Refuge for the oppressed. The clauses affecting criminal aliens are, we believe, working well, and ought not to be repealed; but the rest of the Act needs drastic amendment.

## TRADE UNIONS AND THE LAW

**T**HERE is a strong probability that, in some way, Parliament will legislate upon the position of Trade Unions during the present session.

The question is highly technical and legal ; and a presentation of the case in a popular way is a difficult matter. But it may not be impossible to make plain what are the grievances of which Trade Unions complain, and what are the reforms they want Parliament to carry out.

Where lawyers differ on law it would be presumptuous for a layman to attempt explanation. The position of Trade Unions would be more tolerable if they really knew what the law was, even if it were less favourable than may be supposed at present. Never did even an Act of Parliament provide material for more diversity of opinion than has the Trade Union Act.

Eminent judges differ in their construction of the same clauses ; lawyers admit their complete inability, in the face of conflicting decisions, to advise what a Union may or may not legally do. In the course of one of the debates on this subject, Mr. Asquith said that " he professed his complete inability to reconcile, by any form of language he could devise, however vague and elastic, the conflicting and waving *dicta* of the judges of the land."

- Though uncertainty reigns as to what Trade Unions may do, it has been laid down that certain actions are illegal. There are three or four leading cases in which the following actions have been declared illegal:

- (i) The secondary or sympathetic strike ;
- (ii) The picketing of works or places of business



## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

for the purpose of trying by persuasion to induce people to abstain from working ;

(iii) The notorious Taff Vale decision has laid down the law that Trade Unions can be sued in tort for damages resulting from any "unlawful" actions.

These three decisions are all opposed to the common impression of trade rights, which has prevailed since the passing of the Trade Union Acts.

The secondary or sympathetic strike means the calling out of the work-people at some other works not directly affected by the matter in dispute, for the purpose of indirectly serving the interests of the dispute.

The oft-quoted case of *Lyons v. Wilkins* raised this question. The Union had called out the work-people of a firm who were supplying material to Lyons, where the actual dispute was in progress. An injunction was applied for, and granted against the Union.

This decision is inconsistent with many decisions given by the courts in actions at common law where the circumstances and purpose seemed very similar.

In the Mogul Shipping case, the matter involved was the legality of the action of certain ship-owners to coerce and compel shipping agents in China not to take freights from other ship-owners. To a plain man, the circumstances of this and of the Trade Union case seem parallel. In each case, injury was inflicted on innocent parties for the advantage of the first party.

But in this Mogul case it was laid down that a combination or union among traders to benefit their own trade, even if the intention was to ruin competitors, was perfectly legal. In the course of this trial Lord Morris said :—

"The object was a lawful one. It is not illegal for a trader to aim at driving a competitor out of trade, provided the motive be his own gain by appropriation of the trade, and the means he uses are lawful means. . . . Again, what one trader may do in respect of competition, a body or set of traders can lawfully do."

## TRADE UNIONS AND THE LAW

Trade Unionists do not complain of the law as stated in this declaration, and as embodied in this decision ; but it does appear to them a contradiction in law that one private trader, or a combination of private traders, may use any lawful means, such as withholding supplies, as in the case of the Glasgow butchers, while the work-people may not in combination leave their employment to advance the interests of their own trade.

This then, the declared illegality of the Sympathetic Strike, is the first of the injustices under which Trade Unions suffer.

The Trade Union Act legalises the strike. To legalise the strike should imply the legalisation of the only methods by which a strike can be carried on. Without "picketing," the strike cannot be successful.

The law at present in regard to picketing is an excellent example of conferring the shadow and withholding the substance.

The amending Act of 1875 contains the present law on this complicated subject. Herein it is laid down that :—

"Every person who, with a view to compel any person to do or not to do any act he has a legal right to do,

Persistently follows such other person about from place to place, or

Watches or besets the house or other place where such other person resides or works or carries on business or happens to be, or the approach to such house or place, or

Follows such other person with two or more other persons in a disorderly manner in or through any street or road ;

Shall on conviction, etc., etc."

There we have the legal statement of prohibited action in regard to "picketing." To watch or beset a house with the object of "compelling" a person to join in a dispute is an illegal thing.

But a further clause in the Act runs :—

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

“Attending at or near the house or place . . . in order merely to obtain or communicate information, shall not be deemed watching or besetting.”

It will be seen that authority is given to attend a house or place for the purpose of obtaining or communicating information ; but there is no declared or implied permission to use influence to induce the person to join the dispute.

The Report of the Royal Commission on Trade Disputes, just issued, commits itself to the statement that though “peaceful persuasion” is not expressly permitted by words in the statute, it was the idea of Parliament that peaceful persuasion was implied in the terms of the Act.

The Commissioners are, no doubt, perfectly correct in this declaration. Lord Cairns, when introducing the Bill in 1875, made it clear beyond dispute that peaceful persuasion was conceded in the terms of the Act already quoted. To place the matter beyond doubt, the Home Secretary of that day had circulars sent round to the magistrates, explaining that “where it was thought conduct might be accounted for by a desire to ascertain who were the persons working there, or peaceably to persuade them or any others who were proposing to work there to join their fellows who were contending, whether rightly or wrongly, for the interests of the general body, in such circumstances there is no evidence to establish a charge of watching or besetting.”

Since 1875, up to recently, Trade Unions have conducted disputes under this interpretation of the law in regard to picketing. But in the case of *Lyons v. Wilkins* the Court of Appeal in 1896 confirmed an injunction restraining union officials :—

“From watching or besetting the plaintiffs’ works for the purpose of persuading or otherwise preventing persons from working for them, or for any purpose except merely to obtain or communicate information.”

There can be no doubt of the soundness of this decision in law. But it is equally certain that Parliament did not

## TRADE UNIONS AND THE LAW

intend to restrain peaceful persuasion such as was prohibited by this injunction.

This second grievance of Trade Unions may be said to be due to the strict interpretation of the law. The blame rests with Parliament, which did not embody its spirit in the letter of its law.

The third of the changes in the understood legal position of Trade Unions is the liability of their funds to actions in tort.

The Report of the Royal Commission gives considerable space to endeavouring to disprove the oft-repeated statement, that it was clearly understood, when the Trade Union Act was passed, that a Trade Union could not be sued as a corporate body.

Its review of the history of this matter is interesting, but hardly conclusive. "The decision of the House of Lords was not inconsistent with the legislation of 1871." This the Commissioners declare. But if there was no intention in the Act of 1871 to exempt Unions from actions in tort, it is curious that for thirty years this idea should have been universally held and acted upon. It was curious, too, that the Court of Appeal should have decided that no action could be maintained against a Trade Union.

But if we accept, as we must, the decision of the House of Lords in the *Taff Vale* case, it no longer matters, for the purposes of the present law, what the intentions of its framers were.

To sum up in a general way. The present grievances of Trade Unions are (1) the illegality of an action which, when done by an individual or by a body of traders, is not illegal; (2) the illegality of peaceful persuasion; (3) the liability of the funds for an action in tort.

The remedy of these three grievances is the minimum demand of Trade Unionists upon Parliament. The Government has promised a Bill on the subject; but, being in doubt as to whether this measure will meet the wishes of the Trade Unionists in full, the Labour Party has decided to promote an independent Bill. The terms of this measure are as follows :—

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

### *Legislation of Peaceful Picketing.*

1. It shall be lawful for any person or persons acting either on their own behalf or on behalf of a Trade Union or other association of individuals, registered or unregistered, in contemplation of or during the continuance of any trade dispute, to attend for any of the following purposes at or near a house or place where a person resides or works, or carries on his business, or happens to be—

(1) for the purpose of peacefully obtaining or communicating information ;

(2) for the purpose of peacefully persuading any person to work or abstain from working.

### *Amendment of Law of Conspiracy.*

2. An agreement or combination by two or more persons to do or procure to be done any act in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute shall not be ground for an action, if such act when committed by one person would not be ground for an action.

### *Protection of Trade Union Funds.*

3. An action shall not be brought against a Trade Union, or other association aforesaid, for the recovery of damage sustained by any person or persons by reason of the action of a member or members of such Trade Union or other association aforesaid.

It must be admitted that there is great difficulty in framing a clause which will secure the right of peaceful persuasion, and at the same time protect the person interviewed from molestation. But this is what has to be done. The fear of the consequences of stepping beyond "peaceful persuasion" into the region of terrorism, will probably be an effective deterrent to the picket; for there is no desire to legalise anything of the nature of intimidation or acts of violence, for which a picket would continue responsible, as under the Conspiracy Act.

## TRADE UNIONS AND THE LAW

The Commissioners in the recently issued Report admit that the obvious corollary to the legal right to strike is the right to persuade others to join. But they do not approve the terms of the clause in the Trade Union Bill, and suggest that this right to picket might be conferred, and the safety of the other party protected, by substituting for the "watching and besetting" clause of the Conspiracy Act these words :—

"acts in such a manner as to cause a reasonable apprehension in the mind of any person that violence will be used to him or his wife, or family, or damage done to his property."

The substitution of these words would not meet the needs of the situation at all. Such a clause would encourage actions against pickets where no just cause existed. To base a case on the alleged mental condition of an individual, or upon his declaration of what his mental condition was, opens the door wide for malicious actions. There is always reasonable ground for fear of molestation during a strike, whether those workers are subjected to peaceful persuasion or not. There ought to be more tangible evidence of intimidation.

The present position in regard to conspiracy is illogical, and opposed, not only, as has been pointed out, to the common law, but to the position in which Trade Unions stand in regard to criminal conspiracy. By the Act of 1875 it was enacted that

"an agreement or combination by two or more persons to do or procure to be done any act in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute between employers and workmen shall not be indictable as a conspiracy if such act committed by one person would not be punishable as a crime."

By this, Trade Unions were relieved from the consequences of actions which up to then had been criminal only because done by combination. Though by this Act

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

relieved from the criminal consequences of conspiracy, the Unions still remained responsible to the civil law. Clause 3 of the Trade Union Bill proposes to extend the criminal exemption to civil actions; and this is a claim which cannot be consistently refused, in view of the declarations in the Mogul case.

The Commissioners accept this proposal to extend exemption to civil action, subject to conspiracy outside the Conspiracy Act schedule not being included in the exemption from civil action.

The demand which is certain to cause the chief opposition is that made in the clause of the Bill which reads :—

“ An action shall not be brought against a Trade Union, or other association aforesaid, for the recovery of damage sustained by any person or persons by reason of the action of a member or members of such Trade Union or association aforesaid.”

It may appear to be making an unreasonable demand to ask that Trade Unions shall be exempt from liability for the actions of their members.

But special circumstances require special treatment. Trade Unions are not in the position of a corporation or a firm. They cannot sue, or be sued by their members. A national Trade Union is a federation of branches, each branch having often large powers of local autonomy, even where the funds are centralised. In such circumstances, it is difficult to fix responsibility upon the central body.

There is no desire in the demand made to relieve individual members from liability for their own illegal acts; but it is asked that the funds of the whole Society, that is, that every member of the Society, shall not be liable for the illegal act of one member.

A further and very important reason for the special treatment of Trade Unions in this matter is, that they cannot, in actual fact, by any legal terms of equality, be put on the same actual equality for fighting purposes as the employers.

The employers may conspire; and it is impossible to

## TRADE UNIONS AND THE LAW

furnish proof. Employers may close their works, discharge workmen, black-list them, and indeed do all the things which would be illegal if done by a Trade Union ; and it is impossible to prove a case for damages, because all these actions are within the recognised rights of an employer of labour.

A federation of employers is not like a Trade Union. It is an intangible thing. Seeing, therefore, that, in a strike, the two parties to the struggle are not on equal terms ; that Trade Unions must fight in the open, while the masters can fight in secret ; it is unfair to expose the Unions to the mercy of the enemy, through the misfortune of having to conduct an open warfare.

If the Unions be exempted from corporate liability, and the responsibility for illegal acts still attaches to the wrong-doer, it is likely that the result would be, that strikes would be conducted with a far greater sense of responsibility. Each individual would feel the responsibility upon him for his own actions ; and the aggregate of this would ensure collective responsibility.

It is upon this last point—the liability of the funds for the actions of individuals—that the opposition to the Trade Union Bill will concentrate. But anything short of the Trade Union demand, however plausibly just it may seem on paper, will in reality be an injustice to the Unions, because of the other advantages which employers, by virtue of their rights as employers, must always possess.

PHILIP SNOWDEN



## THE TAXATION OF MONOPOLIES

**T**HERE are two sufficient reasons for holding that the time has come to make a radical revision of the system of taxation in this country. The first is the need to provide a constantly increasing revenue. The expenses of government in every civilised modern nation grow, and must grow, continually; new or improved public services will always be required, and whatever retrenchments are possible in some directions will be more than compensated by increased expenditure in others. The notion of net retrenchment is therefore chimerical; for every pound which reorganisation and strict economy can cut off from the cost of armaments, two, three, or five pounds must soon be put on to the cost of education and of those other improvements in "the condition of the people" to which the members and adherents of the present Government are committed.

To the demands of earnest men seeking the fulfilment of election promises, the answer of Ministers: "We accept in principle the reform you urge, but, alas! our purse is empty," will not long serve. Nor ought it. It is the business of a Government to take such steps in raising revenue as are necessary to furnish means for carrying out expeditiously the reforms which they approve "in principle."

Not only is it impracticable to cut down and keep down public expenditure, starving the genuinely productive services; but for the present Government to attempt such parsimony would be folly. For a refusal to find sufficient revenue for a large policy of social reform will more quickly and certainly sap the popularity of the Government than

## THE TAXATION OF MONOPOLIES

any other sort of misconduct ; the popular support and enthusiasm lost, the country may once more entrust its destinies to a Conservative party, which, having abandoned none of its old predilections for extravagance, will proceed to equip itself with a fiscal apparatus of Protection tariffs, to be applied to a renewal of its traditional policy of doles, armaments, and imperial aggression.

For these reasons it is incumbent on this Liberal Government, with its large majority and its long prospective term of office, to devise and to apply a system of taxation which is not a "burden" upon industry, and which automatically furnishes a growing revenue to meet the growing needs of government.

It will be said that this Government is committed to new forms of taxation, that it is prepared to consider and to impose new taxes. But more than this is necessary ; a large, safe, progressive revenue policy involves a complete reversal of the commonly accepted attitude towards the whole process of taxation. What is that attitude ? Individual citizens owning property, real or personal, the whole of which is their rightful possession, are forcibly required to give up some portion of that property to meet the expenses of Government ; something that is "theirs" is taken from them to be put to the public use. They may recognise the utility, nay, the necessity, of this proceeding ; but it is held to involve a loss or a sacrifice upon their part. This point of view naturally carries with it, at any rate in all but the most public spirited, a feeling of resentment against a process which seems to involve an intrusion upon their private rights, and of recalcitrance against all proposals to increase the amount of private property thus "confiscated."

Now, so long as this false notion of a tax, as a forcible encroachment of the State upon the rightful property of an individual, survives, a Government will never possess the liberty requisite for a really progressive and productive administration of public affairs. It must always seem unsafe and doubtfully expedient to extort from property-owners pieces of their property, to impose upon them "burdens" and to demand "sacrifices." Most men do not

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

with thorough good-will bear public burdens and make sacrifices for the common good; if they cannot directly evade taxation, they will tend to be less energetic and productive than they would have been if left to the full enjoyment of their "product." Thus in part the tax seems likely to be evaded by causing a shrinkage of the *corpus taxatum*, and a corresponding shrinkage of the general wealth.

The conception of a tax as involving a burden or a sacrifice must be eradicated, before the foundations of a genuinely progressive finance can be securely laid.

Now in the history of the theory of taxation another principle has always disputed the authority of the canon "ability to bear," which J. S. Mill imposed upon Liberal statesmen under the guise of "equality of sacrifice." Taxation "according to benefit received" has always had its advocates. But the practical utility of this canon has suffered from a supposed inability to find a positive measure of "benefit," accompanied by a false supposition that the particular benefit which justified the imposition of a tax should proceed from the public use of the particular money raised by this tax.

What is needed to-day is the conversion of this conception of "benefit received" into the clearer and more correct conception of "unearned increment." This process of conversion has been going on for some time past in the public mind. The demand for the taxation of land values is based upon the assertion that it is the right and duty of the State to claim an income not earned by its owner, and not in any equitable sense his property. The claim to take it by taxation is not, however, based merely upon the negative assertion that it is "unearned" by him, but also on the positive assertion that it is earned and created by the public activity of a progressive community. Individual "owners" do indeed employ their energies in the use and improvement of land, and, in so far as they do so, their rightful property in such improvements is admitted. The State will not encroach upon this property, or call upon its owner to sacrifice any of it. But with this individual energy the public energy co-operates, furnishing a variety of protective

## THE TAXATION OF MONOPOLIES

and productive services, which help to secure and enhance the usefulness of the land, and offering that demand for land uses which proceeds from the pressure of the needs of a growing civilised community. The values due to the public co-operation are to be taken as the rightful property of society, earned by social work, and needed for the maintenance of healthy public life.

This is admittedly the essence of the claim to take by taxation the economic rent of land: that it is not made by the personal energy of its owner, and that its removal will not therefore disturb any incentive to personal industry; that it is made by public energy, and that the full development of public life requires the assumption of this public property.

Now, if this conception of taxation can be extended from land values to other forms of property and income, it evidently yields the principle which is required for our radical finance. I do not ask readers to advance at a single bound from the doctrine that economic rent of land is a social product and ought to be used as a social property, to the general Socialist position that all "values" are socially created, and ought therefore to be socially administered. Whatever may be urged for the general thesis, it is evidently inapplicable to a theory of taxation which assumes a condition of society where property remains in private hands, upon which a tax, or other levy, can be made. The practical issue for us lies in the question: "How far are we entitled to extend this principle of taxation?" Economists now generally recognise the truth of Professor Marshall's saying: that "the rent of land is no unique fact, but simply the chief species of a large genus of economic phenomena," though few of them have recognised the full application of this judgment to the problem of taxation. Many persons, however, are prepared to apply the principle to certain other cases of incomes derived from "monopolies" or trade-restrictions, arising from privilege. A tax upon Liquor Licences is expressly defended on the ground that the legal restriction on the right to sell alcoholic liquors enables the capital invested in this trade to earn a rate of profit in excess of what it could secure if there were no such restriction;

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

this "surplus profit," regarded as income, or capitalised in the value of brewing businesses, owes its existence to an act of public policy, is the rightful property of the public that created it, and can be taken in taxation without infringing any right of "the Trade," or even preventing the flow of such capital and business ability into the trade as will suffice to supply the consumer with the liquor he requires at the current prices.

It is sometimes argued, that incorporation of an ordinary manufacturing or commercial business under the Companies Acts confers so much advantage in the organisation and security of capital, that capital thus "protected" is enabled to earn a normal rate of interest higher than that otherwise attainable. Mr. Chiozza Money estimates, though hardly from sufficient evidence, that paid-up capital invested in Great Britain in joint stock enterprise earns an average profit of about 10 per cent. If this estimate were sound, a strong *prima facie* case would be made out for a specific tax upon these earnings, on the ground that they held a surplus due to the legally conferred status of a company. In more than one European country, such profits are indeed made the subject of a special income tax; and in several States of the American Union legislation is proposed which shall lay a progressive tax upon earnings of more than 5 per cent., in the case of corporations which have earned this minimum for three consecutive years. Such taxation is defended on the ground that the public charter conferred upon such companies has an economic value represented in the earnings of the capital invested, and that this economic value, belonging to the State, can be most conveniently taken through a tax.

When a formal public act is the instrument by which the value of a property or the income of a business is enhanced, the right of the State to take by taxation this publicly created increment is not seriously disputed.

But the principle, admitted to apply to "unearned" land values and legally created properties, may be carried further. The protection afforded by the State, the formal and informal organisation of society for the production and exchange of wealth, must be conceived as co-operating

## THE TAXATION OF MONOPOLIES

everywhere with the voluntary efforts of individuals in making material or immaterial property and endowing it with value. Where this public aid is not accompanied by restrictive regulations in the shape of charters, licences, patent or copyright laws, etc., the freedom of competition attending individual enterprise may be such as to deprive the competitors of any surplus gain due to this public aid, distributing it among the public in their capacity of consumers. This was the orthodox assumption of the older economic individualism. But over a large area of industrial, commercial, and professional life, this full freedom of competition is now notoriously absent ; custom, trade agreements, advantages in methods of manufacture, transport, or marketing, enable a trade or profession, or its more favoured members, so effectively to restrict competition as to retain for themselves, in swollen profits or fees, values rightly representing the social income which artificially-restricted markets enable the recipient to divert from the consuming public into their privy purses. Whenever monopoly or restriction of markets enables a trade or profession, or any of its members, to secure a rate of profit or other income beyond what would prevail under free competition, an income exists which is rightly regarded as belonging to society, and as capable of being taken by taxation.

Neither the economic nor the ethical validity of this policy is really affected by the question whether such surplus or increased income can be proved to be due to a specific public act of privilege. Once admit that social activity co-operates, either formally through the State, or informally, with every productive activity of individuals, the emergence of any sort of surplus income or non-competitive gain in any field of private enterprise must be regarded as a socially created income, to which the State, as the representative of the social interest, is entitled to lay claim. The principle, here laid down, differs from the broader Socialist theory, in that it recognises the full rights of individuals in a competitive society, assigning to them complete liberty in private enterprise (modified perhaps by the assertion of specific State monopolies in limited fields of activity), securing to them, as a first lien upon the joint product of

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

individual and public activity, a living wage, profit, or salary, and turning over any surplus to the State as a social income.

A clear conception of the living wage is as essential to the understanding of this policy as that of social activity. The owner or operator of every factor of production must have secured to him whatever share of the income of his business or profession is necessary to induce him to make the most economical application of that factor. This will include a true "living wage," a wage of progressive efficiency, for every manual or mental worker, an income adequate, not merely to maintain his working power, but to stimulate its most productive use, and a rate of interest and of profit sufficient to maintain the capital and the business ability required in each trade. But these elements of individual cost will be scaled down to the conditions of a free competitive industrial society, where equality of access to land, capital, markets, and educational opportunities, has been attained. Because A. has had the cunning, or, if you like, the foresight and enterprise, to corner and hold a large empty slice of land in a growing suburb, he is not to be allowed to retain its enhancing value as a "living wage" for his speculative ability. His enterprise has done nothing to increase the supply of land, nor will the taxation of this increased income diminish it; quite the contrary. But what is clearly recognised in the case of land is often missed in the case of other factors. It is often urged, for instance, that any attempt to tax high earnings in business will cripple enterprise, and disturb the application of capital, or that professional men would express their resentment at the endeavour to secure a portion of their "rent of ability" by withholding some of their intellectual productive energy. These objections are only plausible so long as they lie in the region of vague phrases. Turn to actual business operations. Let us assume, and there is good reason for the assumption, that the original capital invested in Great Britain in railroads, breweries, and banks, has been earning an average rate of profit considerably higher than that which suffices to tempt capital to enter other more competitive industries. It is evident that taxation directed to absorb this surplus profit

## THE TAXATION OF MONOPOLIES

would not affect the conduct of these industries ; the surplus exercises no more effect in stimulating industry than does the economic rent of land in increasing the supply of land. And what here applies to industries which derive some special advantage from charters and licences, is equally applicable to any other industry earning more than the market rate of interest or profit, whatever be the origin of that surplus. An exception will be suggested in cases where patents, superior methods of production, or of management, expressing some high personal power of invention or organisation, are chief sources of the high profits. But, even here, the scaling down can be carried very far. The business ability of Mr. J. D. Rockefeller is of an exceedingly high order, and is certainly an indispensable condition of the high profits of capital invested in the oil business of America ; but it cannot be contended that a heavy tax on the net earnings of this business would not " lie " without disturbing the application of Mr. Rockefeller's personal ability and industry. Though it may be conceded that *some* extra gain must be secured by great inventors and organisers of business, or even that some great prizes must be given, no reasonable economy is exercised in the application of these stimuli, and enormous sums are taken by the exploiters of the high **personal abilities** of others which do not help to evoke the application of these powers. The common notion that, with the exception of a few preserves of monopoly or restriction, free competition pervades the industrial order, keeping down prices and profits to the minimum required to sustain individual thrift and energy, is singularly erroneous. On the contrary, if we carefully trace the long and intricate chain of processes by which the raw materials of any industry are worked up into serviceable commodities and are carried and distributed to the consuming public, several points will almost invariably present themselves where some corner or artificial restriction of production or of market enables a group of business men to secure profits which are represented, either by the cheap purchase of labour or by an enhancement of prices paid by the consumer. This is not the exception, it is the rule ; few, if any, retail prices do not contain some elements, large or small, of these unearned



## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

increments, arising from restriction of market at some stage in the process of production.

Now, though far more subtle and more difficult to trace, these unearned increments, due to commercial restraints on free competition, based partly on "natural monopoly," partly on tariffs, charters, and other privileges, partly on cunning or forceful practices of business, are essentially of the same nature as land values and the surplus profits of the brewing trade. They represent a social property, an unearned income, which, like the others, can be, and ought to be, taken in taxation by the State.

The secret and elusive character of much of this unearned increment will doubtless present difficulties to the practical financier ; but the existence of a large theoretically taxable fund must be recognised.

The notion that a progressive tax imposed on high commercial or professional incomes would check the application of personal ability is equally unfounded. It is indeed just conceivable that the effect of taxing professional incomes of over £5000 a year at the rate of 4s. in the pound might be to induce a few of our most eminent lawyers or physicians to forego some business which they would otherwise have undertaken—thus distributing the more profitable work among a slightly larger circle. Even this supposition implies a closer measure of economic calculation than is commonly accredited to the higher levels of the professions. But, were the tax conceived to operate in this way, the wider distribution of best business would probably involve no net loss, either in quantity or quality of work.

When one reflects that professional ability of the highest calibre is evolved and maintained in continental countries of Europe by a rate of remuneration far lower than that which obtains in Great Britain, the enormous incomes received here by the men at the top cannot be regarded as strictly necessary payments for the ability which they employ. That some considerable differential rents of ability are incentives to exertion cannot, of course, be denied ; but that the highly artificial conditions which determine and assign these rents form even an approximate measure of their necessity, is a wholly unwarrantable supposition. If easier and wider

## THE TAXATION OF MONOPOLIES

access to opportunities of professional and business training increased the supply of high ability, while a greater equalisation of incomes diminished the number of rich men who could afford to buy this ability at present prices, the general level of prices for such services would fall, and the differential rents would fall likewise. It would then be recognised that no inherent and eternal necessity supported these swollen salaries and fees, but that the same qualities of intellectual goods could be bought at much more reasonable rates. If this argument be sound, it follows that unearned increment or income is a concept applicable not merely to land and certain sorts of business capital, but to personal factors in the production of wealth.

All income, then, will be seen to be divisible into two parts: one consisting of the necessary payments for the maintenance of the factors in production—the true living wage, interest, profits, and salaries, sufficing to secure the voluntary application of these factors from their owners; the other consisting of a “surplus value,” variously composed of rents of land and extra gains arising from the employment of capital or ability upon advantageous terms of sale in a restricted market. All this surplus value bears two of the chief characteristics of economic rent: first, in that it is the product of social activity; secondly, in that it is capable of being taken in taxation without disturbing industry.

Here then is the social income, the whole of which, in theory at any rate, can be taken by the State through taxation, and can be administered for public purposes.

This legitimate extension of the concept of unearned increment, fully grasped, would afford the new broad basis of constructive finance demanded by our policy of social reform.

A Government, once seized of this principle, will perceive its duty to lie in securing as much of the social income as it can find and take, in order to expend it in the enlargement and elevation of the public life. The old concept of “sacrifice” has starved the State; the new concept of socially-earned income will enlarge and fortify it.

In one sense, this theory of taxation is a return to Adam

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

Smith's canon that taxes should be imposed according to "ability to bear"; but it gives a sharper meaning to that term. The ability of economic rent of land and of any other surplus element of income to bear a tax is absolute; or, putting the case conversely, a tax imposed on such incomes cannot be shifted. Moreover, just as economists have long agreed that taxation imposed upon farm profits or urban buildings, tends to be shifted on to rent, so our extension of the "rent" concept will drive us to the conclusion that the ultimate incidence of all taxation is upon the unearned increments of various forms which constitute "surplus value." This is not the place to attempt to justify by detailed argument this far-reaching assertion; but, if the distinction here drawn between the necessary costs of production and the surplus be accepted, it will seem to follow, *ex hypothesi*, that no tax can really lie upon any sort of living wage or profit, that the attempt to demand such a sacrifice must be defeated, and that taxes levied in the first instance upon these elements of cost must, by the operation of competitive forces, be thrown in the long run entirely on to unearned increment.

The acceptance of such a view of the shifting and incidence of taxation is, however, very far from warranting us in regarding methods of taxation with indifference. On the contrary, the view of a tax as percolating through the various strata of the economic body with an ultimate settlement upon rents or surplus income, enforces the injury and disturbance inflicted by unsound taxes aimed at objects not rightly taxable. The radically false economy of indirect taxes, and especially of taxes upon commodities directed at the consumer, is more thoroughly exposed by the application of the principle here advocated than in any other way. For if the ultimate incidence of all taxes is upon certain surplus elements of income, it is manifest that consumers, *quâ* consumers, bear no tax, and that any attempt to make them do so is a foolish, round-about, and very wasteful way of getting at any surplus income owned by these consumers in their capacity of producers. Although for non-economic reasons certain import and excise duties, as for instance upon alcoholic liquors, may be justified, the general policy

## THE TAXATION OF MONOPOLIES

of taxes on commodities, or indeed of indirect taxes of any sort, must be dismissed as belonging to an age of financial barbarism. There is, of course, a sense in which a tax is said to "tend to lie where it is put"; and to that extent, taking a short-range view of immediate effects, we may speak of "taxing the consumer." But the normal, necessary tendency, far stronger and quicker in its operation than sometimes supposed, is for such tax to be rejected by all classes of "consumers" who, drawing no unearned incomes, cannot afford to pay, and to be retained only by those consumers who, as landowners or protected profit-makers, are receiving some of the "social surplus," and so can afford to pay. All taxes ultimately, and far more speedily than appears, fall upon this surplus. This will seem a hard saying to politicians who have been in the habit of insisting that the great burden of the national taxes is borne by the wage-earning classes. But if any of them will follow an attempt to tax a shilling, or a shilling'sworth of commodities, from the wage of the lowest grades of regular labourers, he will perceive that the effect upon the labour market will be a tendency for wages to rise so as to cover the tax, thus throwing the "burden" in the first instance on to the profits of the employer, and, if these, like wages, are at a minimum, upon other classes, until it reaches those in possession of a surplus income upon which the tax can lodge. Indeed the doctrine, that in general the poorer grades of workers do not pay taxes, is a doctrine of financial liberation. The dread lest taxes, falling on the low wages of the poor and the low profits of struggling business men, should enhance the misery of the former and intensify the struggle of the latter, has always exercised a paralysing influence upon Liberal finance. Once resolutely accept the new principle, applying it so that as far as possible all taxation shall be immediately directed at genuinely taxable bodies which can ultimately bear them, and Governments will possess a freedom in the performance of public service which they have never hitherto enjoyed. It is true that, in the hands of a dishonest and wastrel Government, this might prove a gospel of extravagance. Such is the defect of its quality. But we do not deny to any individual the fruits of his

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

industry, his rightful property, on the ground that he may abuse this possession ; so with the claim of the State to the public property. We shall not deny that claim because it is capable of abuse ; we shall insist that noble and profitable uses exist for the expenditure of all the income of the State, and that the first duty of a Government is, no longer to cut down the public services to the meanest dimensions, and then to ponder over ways and means of raising revenue for this expenditure, but to gather all it can of the income which belongs to it, and then consider how it can be most advantageously and economically expended. This complete reversal of the normal attitude of Governments towards the relative position of revenue and expenditure will lead to a new conception of the art of public expenditure, that of the building up of a public standard of life, always advancing with every increase of the public income, and applying each fresh increment of public revenue to the enlargement and ennoblement of that standard.

Though my main object has been to enforce the significance of the new theory of taxation on public property, I desire to offer one suggestion regarding its practical application. No Government can hope to get by taxation all or nearly all the public revenue, which is in origin blended with the private revenue of its citizens. But some parts of this revenue are more distinct and measurable than others. In these cases, a specific tax may so be laid as to secure at any rate a large proportion of it. This is the justification of imposing a separate and special tax on such incomes as land rents, mining royalties, liquor profits. But the larger portion of the "unearned increments" cannot easily be ear-marked, still less measured for separate taxation, changing as they do with every change of industrial structure and every shift in the tide of commerce. The chief instrument for asserting public property in this immeasurable surplus will be the graduated income tax. The economic justification of this tax will be the assumption that, in ascending the higher levels of income, one enters regions of revenue where unearned elements become a larger and larger proportion of the whole.

For the argument that the rich can better afford to pay

## THE TAXATION OF MONOPOLIES

a larger portion because the top part of a large income yields less satisfaction, and, taken in taxation, will inflict less loss upon the owner, though it may seem a sound moral basis for the higher tax, is an insufficient economic basis. For if a rich man really created by his individual efforts his large income, then an attempt to take any considerable share of it by taxation would impair his exertions; it could not be taxed, because an attempt to tax it would make it disappear.

It is then right to recognise that the proposal to apply a graduated income tax, so as to take an increasing share of large income for the State, rests on the same economic and moral basis as the proposal to tax "unearned increment" in land values or licences. The State, through taxation, takes those portions of the wealth of the nation which represent the product of public activities, whether exercised through State machinery or through other social instruments. As this public productivity is usually commingled with the productivity of individuals, the joint product of these two sets of activity is seldom clearly separable as income. The application, therefore, of our social theory of taxation involves careful scientific experimentation, with the object of finding out what proportion of the different sorts and grades of income can be taken without encroaching on living wages and living profits, so as to disturb the application of the factors of production owned and operated by individual wills for private ends. But no one acquainted with the structure of modern industrial society, and its manifold restrictions upon freedom and effectiveness of competition, can doubt the existence of a taxable fund of socially-created income ample to meet the expenditure involved in the measures of social reform which figure to-day upon the platform of practical politics.

J. A. HOBSON

## ELECTORAL ABUSES

**A**T the present moment there are nearly six hundred gentlemen who have recently tried to enter Parliament and failed. Each one of these, no doubt, could give an explanation—wholly satisfactory to himself—as to why he failed; and probably no ten explanations would be identical. But on one point every one of these unsuccessful candidates would, I believe, be in agreement; namely, on the mischievous absurdity of much of our electoral procedure.

It is generally supposed that one piece of legislation for which we may confidently look to the present Government is a measure of electoral reform. There is great need for a comprehensive enactment of the kind: one that shall codify existing legislation on the subject, and make the conduct of electoral contests, not only simpler, but fairer to the candidate who plays the game and observes the law. For it is not too much to say, that an astute and experienced agent and a not over-scrupulous candidate can, with the greatest ease, drive a coach and four through the Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act of 1883, and its amending ordinances, and escape all penalty.

But, apart from the inadequacy of existing legislation, customs, not strictly regulated by law, have grown up in connection with elections that demand rigorous amendment. Prominent among these is the practice, now well-nigh universal, of canvassing. It is avowedly legal; and, if one could ensure it being properly conducted, there would not only be no objection to it, but it would have a valuable educational effect. But every one who has been through an election as a principal knows that, from this point of view, canvassing is valueless. To the candidate himself, a personal canvass is a heavy tax in time; and, even in the smallest

## ELECTORAL ABUSES

constituency, he cannot hope to see more than a fraction of the electors. The canvassing, therefore, must, almost of necessity, be left to voluntary workers who, being for the most part untrained politicians, are likely at times to do as much harm as good to the candidate for whom they are working. If every such helper were a thoroughly informed politician, a canvass, even if it did not produce the result desired, would still be productive of good. But the temptation for the canvasser who is weak in politics is to fall back upon the personal equation, and make vague but generous promises on behalf of the candidate in whose interests he is working, particularly if he is visiting the poorer class of voter. A still more serious danger is the downright misrepresentation by mendacious or ignorant canvassers of the views and principles of the opposing candidate. Thus, a canvasser for Mr. A. may be instructed by an unscrupulous agent, or sub-agent, to say that Mr. B. (the opposing candidate) grossly under-pays his own workmen ; that he is a "pro-Boer"—particularly if he is canvassing a district in which the military element is strong—or that he is an Atheist, or otherwise undesirable. This, of course, is misrepresentation and, may-be, slander, and punishable by law ; but the law is slow-footed, and the contest may be only a few days off ; and, assuming that a knowledge of the misrepresentation comes to the ears of the candidate who has been unjustly aspersed, it is probably too late to undo the mischief that has been done, while to fix the responsibility upon the really guilty parties is more difficult still. Canvassing admits also of serious abuse by those who are in a position to confer favours, or to punish recalcitrancy. District visitors, dispensers of public or private charities, employers of labour, and others who exert any kind of authority over the humbler classes, have a powerful lever in their hands ; and, as frequent experience shows, there are plenty of such people who, upright as they may be in the ordinary affairs of life, do not scruple to exert to the fullest extent their influence on behalf of a particular candidate. I believe, therefore, that no scheme of electoral reform will be entirely satisfactory that does not prohibit systematic canvassing altogether.



## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

On the subject of treating, the Act of 1883 has a good deal to say ; and its express purpose is to amend the Act of 1854 (which only forbade the candidate to "treat") by making it equally punishable for "persons other than candidates" to corrupt electors in this manner. The clauses in the Act of 1883 dealing with this particular offence, run as follows :—

(1) Any person who corruptly by himself or by any other person, either before, during, or after an election directly or indirectly gives or provides, or pays wholly or in part the expense of giving or providing, any meat, drink, entertainment, or provision to or for any person, for the purpose of corruptly influencing that person or any other person to give or refrain from giving his vote at the election, or on account of such person or any other person having voted or refrained from voting, or being about to vote or refrain from voting, at such election, shall be guilty of treating ;

(2) And every elector who corruptly accepts or takes any such meat, drink, entertainment, or provision shall also be guilty of treating.

This would seem to render treating impossible ; and yet, as everybody knows, it is the commonest form of bribery. The public Press, during the progress of the recent General Election, contained many instances of this base form of political corruption. One common method is, for certain publicans, for a day or two before and on the actual day of election, to retail their beer at a purely nominal price—in one specific instance the price was given as a penny a quart—to those who are known to be voters. Or the landlord, or the landlord's wife or child, has a totally unexpected birthday or other anniversary ; and the frequenters of the house are treated to free drinks in consequence. And let it not be forgotten by those who never enter the ordinary provincial public-house, that the influence exerted by the landlords of such places is well-nigh incalculable. In a public-house in a working-class district the landlord is probably the only person at the nightly

## ELECTORAL ABUSES

gatherings who has the gift of fluent speech. His trade is largely talking; he reads the papers, and, still more important, he is, in at least nine cases out of ten, tied to his brewer and his distiller, and he becomes, almost of necessity, an agent—*not* unpaid—for the candidate favoured by his employers. (One publican had the candour to inform me that he held, in the hollow of his hand, no fewer than ninety votes, which would be cast precisely as he suggested; and I have no doubt he was speaking the truth.) It may be thought that nothing would be easier than to detect practices of this kind. That, however, is not the experience of candidates and election agents. The presence of a stranger is easily detected at these little public-houses and beershops, the frequenters of which are as well known to the landlord as the members of his own family. Go into one at the busy hours of the evening, and you will find that the landlord does not even require to ask each entering customer what he wants; he draws for each without a word being spoken, and, as the liquor is not always paid for at the time, it is impossible to say whether it is a gift or not. There is, so far as I can see, no possible means of putting a stop to this commonest form of bribery, except by more vigilant observation than can be obtained from a handful of voluntary and inexperienced watchers, and by closing all licensed houses on polling day. Another form of public-house bribery that is always to be looked for as election day approaches, is the creation of new clubs or the resuscitation of old ones, the advent of which is celebrated by a supper at the public-house which forms the head-quarters. I have in mind—in a neighbourhood in which no such thing had existed for many years—a sudden renaissance of quoit clubs, marked by suppers. There was no evidence that the guests at these festivities did not pay for their suppers; and, equally, there was no evidence that they did.

Unfortunately, the judges' interpretation of the clauses quoted above has been so curiously conflicting, that very few candidates, however sure of their facts, care, in the face of the decisions given in the Lancaster and Haggerston cases (1895), to incur the cost of a bribery petition. In both these instances it was proved that drink or other things had

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

been furnished to voters free of charge, in flagrant defiance of the Act ; but, although this was declared by the Court to be "a very objectionable practice," the petitions were dismissed.

Another very manifest infraction of the law—and one of frequent occurrence—is the treating of voters by friends of the candidate who are not acting as his accredited agents. Let me cite two cases within my own knowledge. In the one case, a few days before the election, several gentlemen, having no apparent connection with the constituency, or with either of the candidates, came into the division and wandered about it, looking in at public-houses and other places of call. They spent money freely, and talked equally freely about the election, all their praise being for one only of the candidates, who was manifestly their co-religionist. Ostensibly, they were merely taking a friendly interest in the election ; there was nothing directly contravening the Corrupt Practices Act in what they did. And yet no intelligent person, being informed of the circumstances, could doubt the purport of their sudden appearance, and their equally sudden departure after polling day. The other case I wish to cite was even more flagrant, though it is doubtful, in view of the two decisions above cited, whether any of His Majesty's judges could rule it to be bribery. In this case the mayor of the city accompanied one of the candidates to several public-houses at an hour when these were likely to be most frequented, and, affably entering into conversation with the bar loungers, treated all and sundry to drink and cigars. The attendant candidate paid for nothing, at all events at the time ; and there was, presumably, no technical breach of the Act. But can any one doubt the intention ? Can any honest politician do other than reprobate so flagitious a proceeding ?

The distribution of tickets or vouchers having a specific value, for food, coal, blankets, or other articles, is another common form of scarcely veiled bribery that should be rigorously punished, if it take place within a specified period—say six, or, better still, twelve months of an election. At present it is manifestly not so regarded by our judges, Mr. Justice Bruce, in the Haggerston case, having exonerated

## ELECTORAL ABUSES

a candidate who had, four or five months before the election, distributed five hundred of his visiting cards, which the recipients were entitled to exchange for food. Within my own knowledge, similar tactics were employed at one of the recent elections, though, on this occasion, the candidate was not the prime agent in the matter. In this case, some of the many agents employed in the town in distributing doles—and it is a town in which the doles are many—gave away a large number of tickets for coal among the poorer voters, a few—a very few—days before the election. There was no avowed connection between these tickets and the candidate whose supporters distributed them; but again it would be impossible to deny that this was a covert form of bribery, notwithstanding the secrecy of the ballot, concerning which the more ignorant class of voter still has a good deal of doubt.

A more subtle, but perhaps not less effective, form of bribery by coercion is that of withholding all customary subscriptions until after the termination of the election. This, of course, can only be used with real effect if—as has happened on the present occasion—an election takes place in the early part of the year. In that case, what is easier than to notify, through one's banker, or even by letter to the expectant persons or associations, that the payment of the usual subscription will be deferred until after the contest—and even to take credit for so doing, by alleging that one does not wish to influence voters by means of subscriptions? This is a form of cajolery that it would be difficult to counteract, unless subscriptions by members and candidates to local clubs and other institutions were entirely prohibited by law. No great harm would result if this were done, as the experience of Members of Parliament and candidates is, that the “bleeding” to which they are subjected is, for the most part, by bodies of greedy young men unwilling to pay for their own pleasures. Of course it is open to the member or candidate to refuse all such applications—a good many, I am told, do so without any very serious result. The experience, however, at the recent election, of a former Liberal member who announced in his speeches that, as he was a Member of Parliament and not a relieving officer,

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

he had refused and intended to refuse all such applications, is not encouraging to those desirous of following his example. Elected by a large majority not very long before, he was rejected by a majority more than twice as large at the General Election.

Passing from these somewhat crude methods of bribery and illegal pressure, there are one or two others to which attention may conveniently be directed, though it may be difficult to find a remedy for them. Section 2 of the Act of 1883 provides protection for the elector whose vote it is sought to influence by force, threat, restraint, or by the exercise of such suasion as an employer may bring to bear upon his employees. But, in spite of the compendious wording of the clause, it is notorious that such undue influence is exercised, and that those who exercise it are never called to account. There is the common threat of the customer—usually a lady—to withdraw her custom if the shopkeeper supports the candidate who is not of her political complexion ; and there is the action, indefensible but seemingly unpunishable, of the squire or employer of labour who conveys to his men how they are expected to vote. It is easy to say that the shopkeeper or the employee can profess compliance and then vote as he pleases. So no doubt he can ; and very many assuredly do. But the mere fact that this kind of pressure can be put upon people too weak to rebel openly against it, makes for a craven spirit in politics, and saps the manhood of the nation. There is only one way to meet these menaces—a clumsy one, perhaps, but at any rate one worth trying—and that is by giving the person so menaced a legal right of action, with the power to recover damages.

Another form of pressure that is degenerating into a serious electoral abuse, is the increasing tendency of organisations outside the constituency to bombard candidates with questions, under the covert threat that, if the answers are unsatisfactory, the local supporters or members of the organisation in question will be advised to vote against the candidate. It is bad enough—at all events from the Liberal point of view—to have at least nine tenths of the licensed victuallers acting as recruiting sergeants for the other side,

## ELECTORAL ABUSES

and announcing, *urbi et orbi*, their intention to oppose a particular candidate. But it becomes quite intolerable that a candidate should receive, and be expected to answer, scores of long lists of questions ranging over a vast area, and, when they are not absolutely trivial, dealing more often than not with matters of a highly technical character. Careless, or dishonest, candidates find a simple way out of the difficulty by assenting to everything asked of them, trusting to luck to extricate them from any subsequent embarrassment this may cause; and occasionally they are caught. I have a case in mind in which the sitting member assented to two entirely opposite propositions put to him respectively by the local branch of the Licensed Victuallers' Association and the local branch of one of the Temperance societies. Unfortunately, his reply to "the Trade," which never loses an opportunity of pinning its man down, was published in the local papers; and the member was asked by the Temperance party to explain the discrepancy. He omitted to do so. The only way to prevent the unscrupulous from endeavouring to make the best of both worlds, and of relieving the conscientious from an unnecessary strain, is by prohibiting this circularising altogether. If the electors of the division are sufficiently interested in a particular question, let them ascertain the views of the candidate at public meetings.

One other abuse for which there is even less justification, is the provision of vehicles to convey voters to the poll. In the old days, when means of communication were few and uncertain, there was a colourable excuse for supplying vehicles for the use of those living at a distance. Nowadays, even in the most thinly populated county divisions, it is rare that a voter is more than a couple of miles from a polling station, while, in the boroughs, the distance is seldom, if ever, more than a mile. But if these distances are considered too great, the proper remedy is to provide more polling stations. The elector who refuses to vote unless he is fetched may be dismissed as an indifferent in politics, and as likely as not to vote against the side that has provided him with a free ride. Or, like the cunning rustic in *Punch*, he may go to the poll in a "yellow" motor and come back

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

in a "blue" dog-cart, and vote for neither candidate. But there is an even worse feature in connection with this provision of vehicles than that of securing votes as the price of a free ride. Under the pretence of saving their men time and trouble, it is frequently made an excuse by large firms to convey their work-people to the poll with every circumstance of display on behalf of a particular candidate—clearly a form of intimidation. I have myself witnessed the spectacle of work-people being driven to the poll by their employers in vans and carts decorated with the Party colours and the portrait of the candidate favoured by the firm. In a still more flagrant case that also came under my observation, the employees of a large brewery were conveyed to the poll in enormous drays and lorries and, having voted, they were then driven in procession round the town, presenting every appearance of having been generously treated to liquid refreshment. There is only one way to stop abuses of this kind ; and that is by prohibiting altogether the use of vehicles for bringing up voters to the poll. There arises, of course, the question of conveying to the poll those who are unable to walk thither, and cannot afford to pay for a vehicle to take them. Such cases are very few ; and no great injustice would be done if no special provision were made to meet them. But if it is desired to save these votes, their possessors might be allowed to use the form prescribed in the case of electors to University seats.

One other direction in which reform is badly needed is in the more rigid scrutiny of election expenditure. It is rare that an election is carried on, particularly in the provincial boroughs, without the employment of bands of music, torches, flags, banners, and a general use of Party colours in the form of badges or ribbons. And yet payment for each and all of these things is illegal ; and a successful candidate can be unseated if it is proved that he has contributed to their provision. But, manifestly, some one pays for them. Town bands do not give their services to one or both candidates, for the love they bear them ; torches, flags, and other Party devices all cost money. And yet, if they appeared in an election account, the candidate whose agent had put them there would be unseated. As every one knows,

## ELECTORAL ABUSES

all such things are either paid for indirectly by the candidate, or are generously provided by sympathisers, which is as much a contravention of the Corrupt Practices Act as if these same persons had paid for the hire of committee rooms or the printing of posters. Either a candidate should be allowed to expend a reasonable sum on these meretricious adjuncts, or, better still, their use should be entirely prohibited. But the examination of election accounts is altogether too slack. Each side sins in this respect, and is therefore disposed to be indulgent to deceptions of the kind. If an agent is conscious that his expenditure is going to exceed the amount allowed by law, nothing is easier than to arrange with the printer—and the unauthorised expenditure is usually due to excessive printing—to send in invoices for 100 posters where perhaps 500 or 1000 have been supplied, paying the difference “on the nail.” Much of this superfluous printing is due to the incredibly silly and wasteful practice of “over-posting” or covering an opponent’s bills—action that should certainly be made punishable whenever the responsibility for it can be traced, as it assuredly could be in nearly every instance. Another form of fraud—to put it plainly—when more than the maximum has been expended, is to put down in the return of expenses a wholly derisory sum as payment for the services of the candidate’s agent. As a rule, an agent would receive a fee ranging between fifty and a hundred or even a hundred and fifty guineas ; but if it is discovered that the total expenditure comes perilously near, or exceeds, the full amount allowed by law, there is nothing to prevent the agent entering himself for, say, twenty-five guineas, the difference, as every one knows, being handed to him privately.

One final word on the subject of polling stations. It should not be in the power of the returning officer, as it is at present, subject to the jurisdiction of the local council, to refuse to supply a polling place in a district, if the demand for it is a reasonable one, even though the demand is only made by one side. At present the side that is sure of the largest number of vehicles for polling day often resists an application for an extra polling station, particularly if it has reason to believe that the district for which it is demanded is not “sound.” The hours of polling, particularly in rural



## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

districts, should also be extended (until such time as we copy the example set by New Zealand and make a general holiday of polling day, with closed public houses and no railway excursions); and the practice of stationing "checkers" outside the polling places should be peremptorily forbidden. These persons serve no useful purpose, save to keep the agent informed whether particular electors have voted; and their efforts to discover how those coming from the polling booths have voted are distinctly improper. Their presence is calculated to defeat the object of the ballot, as much as is the unwarranted practice of sending reply-paid post cards to constituents, asking them to pledge themselves by their signature to vote for a particular candidate.

\* \* \* \* \*

Such are the more salient of present day electoral abuses, as they strike one who has just emerged from a contested election, and has had the further opportunity of seeing elections in progress in other constituencies about the country. They do not profess to exhaust the subject, or to be a general criticism of the weak spots in the Corrupt Practices Act. For the most part, they are abuses that have grown up apart from the Act itself, those mainly responsible for them being, I fear, not so much candidates themselves as over-zealous agents. The average candidate, so far as my experience of him goes, asks nothing better than that elections shall be simplified, and, above all, that they shall not be conducted on such preposterously expensive lines. A few rich men, whose presence Parliament could well dispense with, no doubt love the display that a wasteful expenditure of money brings, and rejoice at the opportunity of injuring a poor opponent by a lavish employment of their wealth. In no section of our political life is reform more urgently needed; and no attempted tinkering at existing legislation would meet the case. What is wanted is a comprehensive measure that shall not only simplify, but shall purify, our electoral procedure, and rid it of abuses that are an open evasion of the Corrupt Practices Act.

W. J. FISHER

*(Ex-Liberal Candidate for Canterbury)*

## FLAWS IN ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

*"This strange apathy could only be attributed to the widespread scepticism in the English mind as to whether education mattered. . . .*

*Parents, the very folk who ought to care most, were the people who seemed to care least.*

*Our national system of education was admittedly behind the times. Germany, Switzerland, and the United States thought more nobly of education than we did, and were ready to make more sacrifices for it."*

MR. AUGUSTINE BIRRELL, quoted in  
*The Tribune* of Feb. 12th, 1906.

**D**URING the last few months, many speeches have been made about the Education Acts; but very little has been said about education. Yet, if only the religious and political controversies could be cleared away, there is very much which could be done to bring the schools into a state of greater efficiency.

There is a general impression throughout the country that the expenditure on elementary education is very heavy,<sup>1</sup> and that, in spite of this, children do not leave school well prepared for the struggle of their daily lives.

There are vague complaints that education is not practical enough; and the predilections of each class colour their views as to what is amiss.

<sup>1</sup> e. g. "A number of resolutions were presented from public bodies in the county expressing alarm at the great increase of expenditure by the County Council for Education purposes."

(Report of meeting of the Somersetshire Education Committee. *School Government Chronicle*, Oct. 7, 1905.)

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

The better class of working men are desirous that their children should be educated; but they are too anxious for showy and superficial accomplishments, and are ready to accept a little short-hand or a smattering of French grammar as a proof of education. Unfortunately, the unskilled workmen in the towns, and the agricultural labourer, care little what the children learn, so long as they can be sent to school while they would be troublesome at home, and can leave as soon as it is possible for them to earn money.

The farmer, as a rule, sees no use in book knowledge for the labourer's children.<sup>1</sup> He wants boys to lead horses or scare the crows, he agrees with the squire that education is making the "lower classes" discontented, and attributes to this cause the migration from country to town, forgetting that, with improved communication, has come a knowledge of town attractions and higher wages, which has penetrated to the cottages of the most ignorant. He thinks children need be taught very little, but perhaps a little more of country matters than at present.

Housewives believe that the servant difficulty is due to Board School fancies, not recognising the fact that women have now far more openings for employment, and that, consequently, the duller girls and those of somewhat lower status than before are the only ones now attracted by domestic service.

Frequent complaints appear in the Press from employers who expect to find children better equipped for work; and, though they often demand from elementary schools what cannot be given except to older pupils in technical institutes, there is a general instinct (which is probably right) that more is wrong with our education than the authorities will admit.

No one, however, really wishes to abolish the schools, though many feel that they need improvement.

<sup>1</sup> "When the child could read well, write legibly and quickly, and understand simple arithmetic, the State-supported schools should have done with him." "Several members urged the necessity of getting the boys to work on the farms before 12 years of age."

(Report in the *Morning Post* of a paper and the debate following at a meeting of the Farmers' Club at Whitehall Court. Oct. 31, 1905.)

## FLAWS IN ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

In other countries<sup>1</sup> there is a similar overhauling of educational ideas; but all agree that education is necessary, and would endorse President Roosevelt's utterance to the Moseley Commissioners: "Education may not make a nation; but a nation would certainly be ruined without it."

The economic value of education is recognised by all the intelligent of the English nation; and no one would refuse to admit the significance of the statistics of illiteracy in the more backward countries.

To take one or two obvious examples. Spain has very great mineral resources, her people are sober and industrious; but the country is unprogressive, because there is a low level of intelligence and educated thought.<sup>2</sup>

Italy is a country of splendid natural possibilities, and there is abundance of magnificent water power; the Italians are extremely quick-witted and undoubtedly hard-working. But though Italian navvies make the roads and railways of Europe, we are told that they are spoiled as workmen by their ignorance, and that they are incapable of organised effort, except under Teutonic foremen. It is still more striking that the northern provinces are now developing very rapidly, and that it is the South which is a drag on the progress of the nation; for the southern Italians are almost wholly ignorant.<sup>3</sup>

The most striking union of ignorance with economic

<sup>1</sup> "Our German education is too much cabin'd and confined. We must preach freedom as the remedy."

(Special Reports of the Board of Education, Vol. IX. p. 107.)

"Education is now recognised (in America) as being a progressive science with which practice must endeavour to keep pace." (Special Reports, Vol. X. p. 24.)

<sup>2</sup> In Hübner's Tables (1900) the number of illiterate recruits in the Spanish army is given as 68·10 per cent.

<sup>3</sup> During the Calabrian earthquakes, the Milanese newspapers were full of comments on the ignorance of the Southern peasantry. The statistics of 1893-4 give illiterates of 6 years old and over in the northern part of Italy as 40·86 per cent., 64·61 per cent. in the centre, and in the south 79·46 per cent.

Compare the *Revue Pédagogique*, 27 October, 1905. "Les illettrés en Italie." "Une statistique publiée en 1904, accuse pour l'Italie une proportion de 56 per 100 d'illettrés. Dans les provinces du Sud on compte jusqu'à 80 personnes sur 100 qui ne savent ni lire ni écrire. Sous ce rapport, l'Italie ne le cède guère à la Russie."

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

and political incapacity is shown by the Russian workmen. Employers agree that their stupidity and clumsiness make them very inefficient instruments of production. It is stated, for example, that "in the mills of Vladimir, though very simple material is manufactured, one workman is employed to  $\cdot 8$  of a loom, and the cost of supervision and management is very much higher than in England, while in Lancashire the average is said to be one man to  $2\cdot 8$  looms and, in the case of the very simplest manufacture, even one to 3 or 4 looms."<sup>1</sup>

We do not contemplate the possibility of our relapsing into the illiteracy of Spain, Southern Italy, or Russia; but still we feel that we are not getting value for our money in our schools.

It seems to us that our workmen are still unintelligent and unadaptable. The plumber continues to lay his pipes and the housemaid her fires unsuccessfully; the carpenter can work to stock patterns but seems non-plussed if asked to do anything outside his accustomed course; the saddest cases among the Unemployed are men who have proved themselves the less efficient at their own trades, and who have no resource but odd jobs and casual labour, because they are unable to adapt themselves to other kinds of work.

We are told that Germany and the United States are beating us commercially; and we hear that in both these countries education is more popular, and that there is more wide-spread interest in education.<sup>2</sup> The rise of the butter trade of Denmark is attributed to the better education of the peasantry. Whether this is true of these countries or not—and we must not forget that education varies considerably in the Northern and Southern States of America, and the different kingdoms of Germany—we must work out our system of education without any slavish imitation of the schools of other countries, and study carefully the results of our present instruction, and how far their aims are realised.

<sup>1</sup> See the Report of the U.S.A. Commissioner for Education (1899-1900), Vol. I. p. 354.

<sup>2</sup> Compare, for example, the Report of the Moseley Commission, e.g. Preface, p. ix, or Jephson, p. 212.

# FLAWS IN ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

## I

There is little doubt that the main defect in our present system is, that it aims at imparting knowledge rather than at training capacity and forming character.

It is true that there has been an immense improvement in manners ; the general order and decorum of the late elections are a great testimony to the social advance of the working classes during the last half century. There is now far more capacity for discussion and consideration of large questions of politics and economics. Even if the whole significance of various issues has not been seen, the working man has shown more interest in them. Seeing that former public school-boys and university men do not always display a very intelligent grasp of the Fiscal Question, it is not to be wondered at that the classes whose education ceased at a much earlier age have been unable always to follow its complications or give sound reasons for votes.

There is, however, plenty of room for further development ; and there is still much to be done to raise the social habits and status of the workman, and to give him a higher standard of amusement and of culture. The brass-workers of Birmingham who visited Berlin were particularly impressed with the respectability of their German confrères, their sobriety and sense of social responsibility. They recorded their impressions in a Report, and noted, for example, that—

“They are fond of good reading ; and in their homes they usually possess a small library of good literature, and at their Trade Union is a library containing chiefly serious books and works on Trade Union subjects from all countries. The serious books are mostly read. *In their amusements the intellectual side finds favour*” (p. 20).

In the Northern States of America, employers have been gradually arriving at a greater appreciation of the value of general culture, if the following passage from the engineer-

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

ing journal, *The Iron Age*, can be accepted as at all representative.

“All our great corporations and manufacturing concerns seek the College man ; but in no sense do they seek him because of his familiarity with their business or with any detail of their transactions ; neither do they want him for the smattering of knowledge he may be able to devote to their interests. They take him solely for the training he has gone through, and not for the wisdom which may be stitched in his cap.”<sup>1</sup>

In the States, the employers are credited with a desire to encourage intelligence and invention, and to be ready to pay higher wages when these are found in their workmen. Again, it is a general capacity which the Continental employer looks for, rather than technical skill. A large Zurich manufacturer, for example, in comparing the workmen of different nationalities, put the case as follows :

“We find that Scottish workmen get along better on the Continent than the English. I attribute this principally to their better education, which makes it easier for them to adapt themselves to all circumstances and emergencies,” but “as workman, he (the Scot) may stand higher in his special branch, but as a man in his social position he is not so cultivated, and has lower tastes and less universal knowledge, and hence less serviceability, than the Saxon and other German workmen.”<sup>2</sup>

If it is true, then, that our national system is behind the times, as the President of the Board of Education admits, what can we do to improve it ?

<sup>1</sup> Moseley Commission, p. 131. (Mr. Fletcher's Report.)

<sup>2</sup> Report of the U.S.A. Commissioner (1899-1900), Vol. I, p. 758.

## FLAWS IN ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

### II

If we visit a London school in a thoroughly working-class district, we shall be impressed by the excellent order, and by the zeal and energy of the teachers. In a good school, we find a carefully constructed Time-Table showing considerable variety of subjects. There are a number of well-equipped class-rooms round the central hall, which is used for assembly and prayers. Pictures hang on the walls, perhaps a little high up for the child to see. In such a school, there are about 500 children on the roll of each of the senior departments (Boys and Girls) ; and the Infants' Department has over 600, including, perhaps, 150 in the First Standard, taught by two certificated and one ex-pupil teacher. In the senior departments, there are nine classes in each ; they are called "classes" when the teachers remember that Standards have been technically abolished, except for the purpose of the Attendance By-Laws. The ex-Seventh Standards have an attendance of about 30 children in each department, the Seventh Standards about 40, while the Fifth and Sixth are taught in classes of from 45 to 50. French is being taught in both schools ; the boys take Algebra and Euclid, and learn Woodwork in an excellently fitted workshop ; the girls take Needlework and Cookery. In Standards II., III. and IV. each teacher will have an average of from 50 to 60 scholars. Whether any particular room is crowded will depend upon the time of year, and the absence or prevalence of sickness.

It is a mistake to suppose that French and Algebra absorb much time. In the majority of schools they will not be taken at all. Elementary subjects occupy the bulk of the Time-Table, with the addition of Physical Training, Singing, and Recitation. Arithmetic receives the lion's share of attention ; for 5 hours a week out of a total of about 22 fall to this subject. A similar amount of time is devoted to Reading, including books on Geography and History. For reading in the lower classes two Readers form the mental pabulum for the year ; and three, including such stories as *Robinson Crusoe*, occupy the upper classes.



## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

These are read aloud a chapter at a time (each child taking a paragraph) ; and any mistake made by the child reading is corrected for the benefit of the rest, most of whom would not have made it. With an hour a week for copy-books,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  hours a week for Spelling and Dictation in the lower, and Composition and Dictation in the upper classes, there is not much time left for other subjects.

### III

It is often said vaguely that the instruction in the schools must be made more practical, and that the children of the working classes should be taught subjects more suitable to their needs. But the critics do not tell us what new subjects of universal utility they propose to substitute for those now in vogue.

It is easy to give instances where the subjects of instruction are not taught in the most practical way.

To memorize grammatical rules does not necessarily improve the children's speech in the playground ; nor does an artificial enlargement of the vocabulary invariably lead to a greater command of language. New words must be useful words ; and it is of little advantage to the boys to write out and learn by rote a list of "spellings," such as was to be seen in one of the poorest schools in London last winter, beginning with the words "chequered" and "palanquin."

While reading lessons consist in reading aloud to the teacher the contents of two or three Readers each year, with an exact imitation of the teacher's intonation, and while it is still possible to find scholars who can shut their books in the middle of a lesson and continue the paragraph from memory,<sup>1</sup> it does not seem probable that the children will acquire a taste for reading to themselves, or retain much interest, even in a story ; in fact this constant reading aloud

<sup>1</sup> In a North country school last year a class were able to repeat the whole page, almost without mistake, with their books shut. And this was supposed to be a *reading* lesson !

## FLAWS IN ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

tends to destroy the faculty of running the eye quickly over the printed page and gaining its meaning with rapidity.<sup>1</sup> Correct articulation should be taught very carefully, but in conversation lessons, not during reading only. Again, in Arithmetic there has been a gallant attempt of late to make the earlier lessons more scientific by teaching through concrete examples; but sums are not made concrete by first filling the blackboard with figures, and then writing "boys" or "nuts" after a line. A teacher the other day asked her class to divide 15 horses by 4; and an ex-inspector of the Board of Education relates that, on asking a child to divide 20 marbles among 4 boys, he was met by the startling reply: "Please, sir, we does 'em in apples."

There is no doubt that, when once the properties of number have been understood, and the step taken from concrete to abstract calculations, sums of a more practical nature than at present might be given. Accuracy and correctness must not be neglected; but approximate answers by swift methods should also be encouraged; and these would be more useful than mechanical skill in practice or the rule of three.<sup>2</sup> To set four sums on the black board for sixty children, and explain to all alike, destroys individual quickness.

The power to write in copy books may be quite compatible with a total inability to write a decent hand afterwards; when once the form of the letters is known, children should learn to write rapidly on unlined paper, and diversity of handwriting in the upper classes should be encouraged, so long as it is legible.

As for the school letter, the labour spent on this highly artificial product, with its conventional phrases, is sufficient

<sup>1</sup> Children can only acquire facility by reading to themselves a number of interesting books; and it is not necessary that the full meaning of each word should be explained the first time it occurs. There need be no additional expense incurred by the provision of a very much larger variety of reading matter. A dozen sets of 15 books for silent reading cost no more than 3 sets of 60 Readers; and a group of 15 round the teacher's desk is a quite sufficient number for a "reading aloud" class.

<sup>2</sup> In South Australia, from the lowest class upwards, children are taught to estimate distance and area by the eye, and correct by actual measurement. In the upper classes, some exceedingly practical lessons are given in the measurement of reservoirs with sloping sides.

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

to deter the youngster from any attempt to write one out of school on his own account.

What natural boy, for example, would write :

“The Countess of Dudley had undertaken the arduous task of presenting the prizes” ;

or,

“She ” (my mother) “asked me if I would awake the girls. I replied in the affirmative ” ?<sup>1</sup>

Even in the most modern subjects, such as Nature Study, a text-book too often leads the teacher to dispense with the necessity of observation ; and a smattering of knowledge of botanical terms may be the result, instead of any quickened power of using the eyes and wits on the objects of Nature.

One very zealous teacher in the Colonies gave a lesson before the inspector on a flower picked outside the school, and locally miscalled the “dandelion.”

She held it before the audience, who dutifully *observed*, under her guidance, that it had a hollow stalk, secreted a white juice, etc. But, unfortunately, the flower was not a dandelion, but a yellow flower of a wholly different genus ; and the teacher had fitted its stalk to her text-book, though it was obviously not hollow, and showed no milk.<sup>2</sup>

## IV

The fact that the methods of teaching are often faulty is not, however, of so much importance as the widely prevalent misconception of the aim of our school instruction. We cannot give technical teaching to children of elementary school age ; we cannot give them knowledge sufficient for their future lives. As Professor Huxley long since pointed

<sup>1</sup> See some compositions written in London Schools on May 13th, 1905, quoted in *The Toynbee Record* of March 1906, pp. 82, 83.

<sup>2</sup> A lady botanist on hearing this story remarked—“How often I have been certain I could see minute hairs on a smooth stalk when I have wanted to make the plant fit into a species to which I had made up my mind that it belonged.”

## FLAWS IN ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

out, we cannot teach the art of farming to village school children ; and one of our leading authorities on rural education at the present day, in a recent Address, emphatically enforced the truth that wide general knowledge is the essential antecedent of all specialisation, and that intelligence, adaptability, and sound judgment, are as necessary for the labourer as for the artisan.<sup>1</sup> What the children are, not what they know, when they leave school, is the really important matter ; that is, they must be trained in character and in mental power. And, in addition to the development of the moral character, their reasoning faculties must be educated ; they must leave with eyes and minds alert to observe facts for themselves, to assimilate from the world or from books the knowledge contained in them, if they have the power to grasp it. No school store of facts can be sufficient ; the scholars must be ever on the look-out to discover for themselves.

To ensure a general, if mediocre, level of knowledge, we have been content to sacrifice the development of particular children ; and, in the end, not only have the brighter children suffered, but the whole class has been depressed, for we have failed to strengthen the individual effort and self-reliance of any of the scholars. Our teachers do too much, and our scholars too little. We are told that the characteristic of the American citizen is a readiness to assume responsibility : the workmen will try anything ; the employer will make a bold sacrifice, and scrap all his machinery to buy the newest in the market. The American boy is treated more as a citizen in school ; as Professor Sadler has somewhere said, the American School is a co-operative society, where children and teachers work together for a common end. This phase of American Schools was noticed by the Moseley Commissioners ; and such phrases as the following occur in the Report :

“Discipline there is ; but it is from within and not from without.”

“Children spontaneously ask questions or offer suggestions.”

<sup>1</sup> Mr. J. C. Medd at the Church Congress, Oct. 4, 1905.

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

“To encourage self-government, self-expression, and self-activity, is the constant aim of the teacher.”<sup>1</sup>

Without necessarily imitating American schools, we can pay more attention to the individual, and think of the child rather than of the class.

In a class of sixty children, there will be various degrees of receptivity; and so large a number cannot be instructed in the same words or with the same lesson.

It will be said that, while smaller classes are no doubt desirable, the expense is prohibitive. But, even if a large diminution in numbers is not feasible, we are not now arranging our class teaching in the best possible way.<sup>2</sup>

More than thirty years ago, Dr. Harris, the present Commissioner of Education in the United States, made practical proposals which were adopted in many places there, and are equally applicable in England.

Insisting on the absolute necessity of encouraging individual effort, he made each teacher divide his class into upper and lower sections, so that part might always be engaged in study while part had the direct instruction of the teacher.

A lecture to the whole class gave place to quiet assistance to one portion by the teacher, while the rest of the children learned to concentrate attention on their own individual work. As a further result of this sub-division of classes, promotions became more frequent; for the differences of attainment between classes were less marked. He suggested that, instead of an Infant class and seven Standards, as many as thirty different classes, with short terms of study, ought to be formed.

### V

In England, our present arrangement of classes is the direct outcome of the old system of annual government examinations;

<sup>1</sup> Rathbone, p. 261. See also Vol. X. Special Reports of the Board of Education, especially pp. 74-94.

<sup>2</sup> In small country schools the evil of large classes is not accentuated; and, consequently, with worse equipment, rural schools often do more for the training of the children than the urban.

## FLAWS IN ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

for, though the central authority no longer annually tests results, the school year has been retained for the purposes of classification. Boys of the same age, but of very different capacity, are usually taught together for a whole twelve-month in the same group of subjects, till they are all supposed to have mastered them ; and, at the end of the twelve-month, the whole class, with very few exceptions,<sup>1</sup> is moved up to a new set of books and sums, which are to be learned in company, in the same manner, for the next twelve months.

Nothing is better calculated to produce general apathy ; the bottom boys are accustomed to their inferiority, and see no good in trying again to beat those they have learned to think their superiors, while the top boys are aware that they can get through the year's work more easily than the boys below them, and become lazy and careless.

What the brightest and the dullest alike need is the stimulus of fresh competitors ; for it is as advantageous that the former should have to strive to win their way up from the bottom of a new class, as it is for the latter to feel that by bestirring themselves they can keep ahead of those promoted from below.

With shorter terms, and promotions of only the brightest boys, fresh energy would be perpetually introduced.

If there were quarterly promotions and more classes, there would be real life and movement in the school. Under present conditions, there is indeed a happy complacency ; for have we not all been promoted year by year through all the Standards ? The boy who has been near the head of his class throughout his school life, leaves with the pleasant feeling that he is a clever fellow, who has learned all that need be known.

The faults in our schools are due to the spirit of past Codes, and to the absence of any intelligent grasp by our administrators of the real character of education.

<sup>1</sup> The tendency to move all children up once a year is even greater than in the days of examination. Parents object if their boy is not promoted ; and, as he no longer can destroy the credit of his class by a government "failure," teachers naturally hesitate to keep a boy down for another whole year at the same work.

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

The teachers have been hard-working and conscientious, but hampered by the system and tied by its traditions.

Their training has been defective ; and the Training Colleges must be made a national concern, and their direction placed in the hands of men of wide general outlook as well as technical skill. It is not their business to teach the modicum of arithmetic or English required for a Certificate ; that is the task of the schools which precede them. The immature student-teacher, who handed on a few facts as he learned them, will disappear ; the man of general knowledge must take his place, who has learned what education means, and can estimate how little in the way of facts can be imparted to children between 5 and 14. With better trained teachers, it will be more easy to secure more intelligent methods of instruction ; but Local Education Authorities could do much at once to ensure more useful schools.

## VI

Space prevents any consideration of the further education of children of the working classes beyond the elementary school age. Children who can be passed on by means of scholarships to secondary schools should probably be transferred when they are 11 or 12 years of age ; for they will be able to take a wider range of subjects, and can begin a longer course of study. A more liberal spirit is needed in the Regulations for Higher Elementary Schools. There has been too great timidity displayed, and too much attention given to the fear of rivalry expressed on behalf of secondary schools. Every endeavour should be made to give every child the opportunity of staying a few months or a year later than the age of compulsion. There might be, in the country districts, classes opened in the winter, and closed when the fields claim the pupils. The present Evening Schools are often sheer waste of money ; they are not thorough, and, after long hours of work, the pupils are often unfit for much study. We might consider a new half-time system for apprentices and others over 14 ; half-time for little children working in the mills should be abolished entirely.

## FLAWS IN ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

The time is ripe, too, for a revision of the Compulsory Acts ; the age of compulsion should certainly be uniform throughout the country, instead of varying in accordance with local by-laws.

The existence of exemption by Standard has done much to prevent any liberty in the schools ; for, while the Code still sets out Standards for this purpose, freedom is impossible. In some districts, exemption can be claimed on passing Standard IV. ; but, whatever the Standard fixed, the result can only be that the very brains which it would pay best to cultivate are allowed to escape from training earliest. The exemption of children *unable* to learn would be a more sensible plan ; but in any case exemption should be given only where it is really necessary, and on attendances, not attainments. In a thoroughly working-man's country, like Australia, the age of compulsion is generally from 6 to 14 ; and it is interesting to note that, a few months ago, the State Premier announced at a public meeting in South Australia that he was about to bring in a Bill to raise the age of compulsion to 15.<sup>1</sup>

In respect of the age of compulsion and exemption by Standard, some alteration in the law is required ; but the other reforms advocated above can be carried out at once by such local Education Authorities as will boldly attempt to put their house in order.

It will be advantageous that they should have diversity of local practice ; and, now that the central authority is weakened, County and Borough Councils can, in their own fashion, set to work to learn the defects in the schools and devise the remedies.

The councillors are business men ; and they will see that the children need to be trained more and taught less, and that it is not by re-casting a curriculum, but by developing more intelligent methods, that this aim can be reached.

By adopting smaller classes and sections of classes, by

<sup>1</sup> In the United States the compulsory ages vary ; in the South there is often no enactment, but in the East, North, and West only two States have no compulsory limit, viz. Iowa and Missouri. Wisconsin alone makes the leaving age 13 ; the majority fix 14 ; while in three States education is compulsory to 15, and in eight States to 16 years of age. (See Special Reports, Vol. X. pp. 397-8.)



## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

substituting quarterly for annual promotions, and by securing more individual study, the schools would be quietly revolutionised. The children would learn to read to themselves, to search for the meanings which were obscure, and to think for themselves their own thoughts, not the teacher's.

The criterion of success must be the interest that the pupils take in what they observe and read ; and they must leave school with quickened interest rather than a store of facts in their memories.

When, by developing the handiness, the quickness, and the intelligence of the children, the schools are seen to be making better workmen and citizens, they will be lifted out of the arena of Party politics, and become the care of all classes of the community.

CYRIL JACKSON

## WOMAN SUFFRAGE :

### A SUGGESTION

**M**R. GOLDWIN SMITH, the most reasoning of all the adversaries of the political action of women, thinks, as Galileo's adversaries did of the sun, that there is no intrinsic motion in Woman Suffrage. Whether it be so or not, it may be worth while showing by what process it may possibly be originated.

The modern idea of the representation of women is a product of our Parliamentary system. The question was long regarded as Utopian by the few whose attention was arrested by it. Now it is in the minds of all classes, conscious of distinctive interests. A thousand groups in a great community have separate interests, which, by fertile devices, they get represented. But, until late years, it was not discovered that half the human race had an interest to be represented ; and now the necessity, or prudence, of it is largely doubted. Even the Chartists, democrats as they thought themselves, were self-complacent believers in the aristocracy of sex. Their "universal" suffrage always left out women. I well remember when women, who were thought "advanced" in their day, had no idea of claiming political recognition. Harriet Martineau, whose ideas influenced Cabinets, never took part in any Woman Suffrage movement. Bessie Rayner Parkes, afterwards Madame Belloc ; Barbara Leigh Smith, afterwards Madame Bodichon ; Miss Frances Power Cobbe ; Miss Emily Faithful—all were writing in favour of their sex having some practical share in public life ; but when I suggested that they should set up a *Woman's Journal*,—edited by women,

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

not by men, as all papers professing to represent women then were—not one of them thought it possible. If women have distinctive interests, they must show their capacity by acting on Sir Robert Peel's advice to men, and take "their own affairs into their own hands." I was the first who stated their case in a publication of the day. It appeared in the *People's Press* of June 1, 1847. (I mention this and subsequent incidents to justify the seemliness of the suggestion I make in this article.) I urged that, to be recognised, they must represent themselves. They could never command attention, nor prove their power, by proxy.

Though able to write well themselves, these women despaired of finding sufficient literary ability of their way of thinking. All the while, as was explained to them, there was a way of making a woman's magazine supremely attractive and informing to the public, by giving in its pages examples of what women had done in poetry and the drama, in art, in history, in travel, novels, and public affairs. Very few were aware to what a large extent women had already distinguished themselves. Forgotten things of charm and power were plentiful in literature, which would contribute to the diversion and wonder of the public, and dispose it to think that a claim of some kind of representation was not so unreasonable on the part of women as was supposed. Such a magazine would be a novelty now. But intelligent prepossessed persons look into a wood and never see the trees.

However, in their own way, these women made an appearance in the Press, sensible but not staid. Subsequently they issued the first *Woman's Journal*, to which women alone were the contributors. Then Miss Faithful, strenuous and thoughtful, desired that the *Journal* should not only be written by women, but be "set up" by women; and she established a printing office, in which girls were to be the compositors. But they knew nothing of the art; and in those days no printer would teach them. My brother Austin, who was a printer by profession, taught them; and, as young girls were not strong enough to work the hand-press—which was all the office could afford—my brother Horatio did that for them.

## WOMAN SUFFRAGE

At that time there was no Married Women's Property Act ; and the husband could claim, not only all the personal property the wife had, but all she earned (in the workshop or by a business of her own) to spend in gambling or drink. A woman in daily danger of her life from a brutal husband, had no right of separation from him, such as magistrates now can grant. Through the agitation against these disabilities, it gradually entered into the public mind that women had interests of their own which needed Parliamentary protection. No wonder it occurred to women that these disabilities might have been removed without so much supplication as they had to make, had they possessed representative influence in the House of Commons. When they began to say so, they were told that "they had better leave political things to men, who were proverbially indulgent to women." Women had tried that for two thousand years ; and very little they got by it. The overture was stale. Tired of living on the suffrage of men, they sought a suffrage of their own. They thought as Madame de Staël did, when she told the first Napoleon, that if women were to have their heads cut off, they should have the right to ask the reason why.

To ask for things in reason, and only things which seem reasonable to others, is a policy of force. In rhetoric it is of no use to prove more than your audience are prepared to believe. George Stephenson limited himself to informing a Parliamentary Committee that he could run a train twelve miles an hour. He believed he could run one thirty miles an hour. But had he said so, he would have lost his chance of permission to run one at twelve. By asking for more than Parliament is likely to think reasonable, women run the risk of incurring substantial disadvantage. When, for instance, as some excellent women do now, they ask to be placed on an elephantine platform of "adult" suffrage, whither men have not climbed yet, they will not accomplish their ascent in a century.

In aid of the demand for a voice in public affairs by intelligent women, I published, fifty years ago, two powerfully reasoned papers by Mrs. John Stuart Mill—" *Are Women fit for Politics?*" " *Are Politics fit for Women?*"

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

No one who read these remarkable arguments doubted that the question must have more consideration than had been given to it. In Parliament, I had been present during discussions upon the subject, when young, titled, and flippant members (their names are in my mind now), livid with whisky, made speeches against the scandal of allowing women to be represented in that House. As often as the question came forward, every obscene wit in the Commons made a carnival time of it. On one occasion, the then member for Kilmarnock met the question of the "Rights" of women with a polished raillery of contempt. He was a member who stood high in the estimation of the House, and was the next Speaker-Designate. His raillery was more mischievous than ribaldry; and I advised the women who cared about their cause to send a deputation to the defamatory member's constituency, to let the wives of the voters know in what way, and to what effect, their representative exercised his offensive talents in their name. He ceased to be member for Kilmarnock, and was never again returned to Parliament. That was matter for regret, as he had high qualities for the public service. But no other means were left open to women who were scornfully refused a chance of a reply in the House.

The question is: How is the suffrage for women to be obtained? Since that time women have been rendered eligible for service on School Boards. Yet neither single nor married women, having property in their own right, whom the tax-gatherer does not neglect, are entitled to representation. The most hopeless male booby in the borough is an eligible voter, while a woman of the wealth and philanthropy of a Lady Burdett-Coutts, or with the capacity for public service of a Harriet Martineau, are disqualified from appearing at the poll to provide for the protection of their own property. The odious admission of obscure masculine idiots, and the insolent exclusion of eminent women from the power of the poll, may well excuse those who make unmeasured or disproportionate demands of amendment.

At the same time, it has to be remembered that the exclusion of women arises mainly from fear that, if the suffrage was extended to women, they would over-rule

## WOMAN SUFFRAGE

the interests of men. In every department of life, any claim to equality is resisted by those in possession of privilege. The suffrage of women has to combat a prejudice as old as mankind. The instinct of ages is against the affairs of men being controlled by women. The demand for equal suffrage menaces the supremacy of Man, which in many ways Nature seems to have intended. No interest goes into the House of Commons ostensibly claiming to control all others, but making only the proportionate claim of representing its own, and having a voice in determining its own fortune whenever brought into discussion. It is not necessary for women to challenge the predominance of men in public affairs ; they need only claim to be heard in a reasonable way whenever their opportunities in life come up for determination. It will be time to set up an equal claim with men, when women find themselves equal in qualifications, capacities, and experience. That time is not yet.

Why should not women who desire the suffrage form an Electoral College in every borough, and ask that every hundred women members of the College, should be legally entitled to nominate one of their Order to vote in the election of members of Parliament for their borough ? This would give every thousand women ten representatives at the polls. In populous and intelligent boroughs, their local representatives might amount to a hundred or more ; and candidates would have to reckon with them. They would become one of the electoral forces of their constituencies. They would no longer be a pariah class, without recognition or representation. Members of these colleges would acquire experience in political affairs. By such an arrangement no interest of men would be jeopardised, no electoral agents be perturbed, no dangerous control exercised ; and men would not be alarmed lest the fortunes of the State should fall exclusively into the hands of women. But the political influence of these colleges in every city and town would be greater than their polling power. In the meantime, they would train in political and social subjects those who would inspire confidence, instead of misgivingness, as now, in the minds of the governing class.

The small number of men on the register in every borough

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

in proportion to those eligible, and the difficulty of getting the majority of them to vote, show that the number of men who really determine the quality of the Government is limited in every counting. A smaller number of women only could be induced to believe in the duty of voting, or would qualify themselves for the poll. There is hardly any city or town in the world where there is an ascertained majority of women caring for political representation. Ignorance of public affairs is greater among women than men, in consequence of their enforced abstention from them during so many ages. Many have no time for politics, many more have no taste for them ; and if a *plébiscite* was taken of them, it would be seen how small are the number of women who really care for the suffrage. This is no reason why those who do should be denied all power of self-protection. But the limited personal interest women take in legislation should beget moderation in claims on their behalf. Why should friends of the self-protection of women embarrass a great cause of power beyond their means of using ?

Society would survive, even should some one, some day, propose direct representation of women by women in the House of Commons. Their number might be twenty-four, as in the case of the bishops, who sit amid the peers, and wear gowns like women. Nobody complains of the singularity of their appearance in an assembly of men. Women could not have a better precedent than the bishops. Women could not be more alien among members of the Commons than the prelates are among the peers. The bishops represent interests well provided for, while the women M.P.s would represent a far larger class hitherto without political self-protection.

No one doubts that the forced abstention of half the human race from participation in the affairs of public life, is a great loss to mankind. If the device of Electoral Colleges was carried out, wealthy women would in many cases give College Houses (as would some men friendly to the political life of women) in which to hold committees and conduct organisation work. The day of novelty is over ; that of realisation is come. Projects born of measure-

## WOMAN SUFFRAGE

less impulses and enthusiasm are delightful as inspirations. Dispassionate selection is now the next step of progress. Electoral Colleges seem an attainable means to a great end. Dignity, separateness, training, and growth of numbers, seem to lie that way.

A physician, on asking the wife of a delirious patient whether he had any "lucid intervals," was assured that he had had nothing but what he, the doctor, had ordered. In all agitations there are a number of persons who were never ordered "lucid intervals." But women generally have them of their own choice ; and to them this article appeals.

Men do not climb to the heights all at once. They tardily ascend from mount to mount. Rights do not produce results until those endowed with them attain intelligence and experience. The mountaineers of progress require the development of the climbing foot. Despotism may come by a *coup d'état* ; but sure liberty is a growth, not an invention.

Temple Leader foresaw that, without precaution, the suffrage of men might not answer expectation. "If sheep had votes," he said, "they would give them all to the butcher"—because they were sheep. Mr. Ernest Jones, the eager poet of Chartism, resigned a fortune of £2000 a year rather than forego the advocacy of immediate concession of working-class suffrage. But he merely confirmed the saying of the Oxford Professor : "We are none of us infallible, not even the youngest." Ernest Jones held me to be the enemy of my own convictions for proposing an Intelligence Franchise. He lived to see that precipitancy was not always progress, and wrote of the emancipation of the unfit :

"Gaze on those crowds—is theirs the force that saves ?  
What were they yesterday ? A horde of slaves !  
What are they now but slaves without their chains ?  
The badge is cancelled, but the man remains."

How true is all this ! Industrial reformers find slavery in the bones of Trade Unionists, who have no instinct for a status higher than the hireling. Few of them care for



## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

co-partnership, which advanced co-operators have made possible to them. Mr. Grote gave such men the ballot ; and they put the Tories in power for ten years. Household suffrage was conceded ; and Lord Sherbrooke said, with his contemptuous wit : " We have now to educate our masters." None knew better than he that the ignorant could never be legislative masters ; and it was because Mr. Disraeli saw this, that he was able to persuade his followers to make men numerically " masters." When they were told by those wiser than themselves that devastation was patriotism, they did not know the difference, and shed their blood in South Africa and increased their taxation at home. When the noblest enthusiasm has succeeded so ill with men without precautionary preparation, are women sure to do better ?

My own assent to the stately argument of Wendell Phillips and John Stuart Mill, that the suffrage of women is founded on natural justice, is unchanged. The Electoral College is a method of its realisation, by a step-by-step advance. There is no finality in it. It arrests no measure for the social protection of women, or for the extension of their independent rights. Enlarging the area of their fitness accelerates the day of success. Unfortunately, persons of ardent nature, who are ever the pioneers of higher things, are apt to falter in their noble purpose, when patient persistency is required of them. The heroism of ceaselessness in right effort is rare. The path to the equality of half the human race is wide, long, adventurous, but never monotonous ; and if women walk therein they will arrive there.

Forgetful of his own profession, a poet once wrote :

" Great wits to madness are so near allied,  
A thin partition doth their bounds divide."

He might have carried the comparison farther, and included political prophets and quacks. It is the persuasion of the quack, that the mountains will burst when his mouse is born. In the same manner, the political seer takes his estimate of the possible effects of a new principle as an impending catastrophe, which, if not arrested, will shatter the world. Centuries ago, the wisest men were convinced that

## WOMAN SUFFRAGE

if private judgment was suffered to co-exist with theology—which we are told is the one steadying influence of all time—order would evaporate into thin air. Even Burke told us, with agitated portentousness, that should self-government be permitted to establish itself in France, the world would burst into a conflagration of republics. Yet to-day we see Norway choosing for itself a king. In the same way, it is concluded on many hands that the political union of women is the new element to disintegrate society.

Every one is aware that all families are concerned in the welfare of posterity. Upon the character of the present generation the civilisation of the future depends. Posterity comes by way of woman ; and it is her interest as well as that of every man, that the condition of woman should be as bright and free from toil and care as equity and justice can make it.

Many women instinctively see from the first the trend of things. Their description of them is their measure. Women are such an addition to the capacity of mankind, that the idea of their inferiority would never occur to any one, did not men mention it who cannot compete with them.

Dining one day at the *Star and Garter*, I was asked by my host to entertain a lady who had returned that day from a journey round the world, and was curious about many things. She asked me, among other questions, what I thought would be the consequence of conceding the suffrage to women. I answered that it would produce great satisfaction and little change, as too few women were politically-minded enough to use it. "Then why do they want it?" asked my questioner. Because they resent the restriction which means conventional inferiority. Two storeys below this pleasant room lies the free green open sward. Do you feel any inclination to force the windows and incur the personal risk of descending there? Yet were a person of absolute authority to enter and declare that all avenues from it were closed for evermore, in less than ten minutes every woman would be contriving her escape. That is why intelligent women want the suffrage ; they want the "open door," though they may never pass through it, or even

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

intend to do so. In 1832 we saw the men of England rising in revolution to obtain the suffrage, of which not half of them have ever made any use since.

The most powerful objection of the practical politician to women voting in vital affairs of State is that they would have the defence of the nation in their hands, without being able to enter the field of war to vindicate their decrees. There would be no great difficulty in prohibiting the vote of women electors on war questions, just as we prohibit the vote of the Lords on taxation. The Peers are richer than the Commons ; and, personally, taxation concerns them largely. Abstention from financial votes is found quite practicable as abstention from carnage votes would be found to be with women.

GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE

## THE FLORENTINE MOVEMENT

ART, with Italians, is a means of escape from their surroundings, born of loathing of things as they are. It is not æsthetic appreciation struggling to express itself. It is a rebellion and a protest. At its best, perhaps, a prophecy.

It happens that when a feeling of repugnance against the sordid and the common-place comes over a group of young Italians, a revival of art, and more especially literature, takes place. The Renaissance was the revolt of a cluster of young men against ugliness, dullness, lack of colour. The *Rinnovamento* was brought about by a dozen friends who were sickened by the sterile artificiality of the eighteenth century. The *Scapigliatura Milanese*,<sup>1</sup> though it ended for most of its members in absinthe-drinking and suicide, was another brilliant defiance of the mediocre and the monotonous.

If Pico di Mirandola, Angelo Poliziano, "Tito Melema," and the rest, had lived now-a-days, instead of reading verses in the cypress-shaded paths of the Orti Oricellari, or delightedly searching for the impossible in the gardens around the Badia Fiesolana, they would have clubbed together to found a review, and would have read aloud articles destined for it, in a smoke-filled, beer-smelling room at the *Caf  Gambrinus*, Piazza Vittorio Emmanuele.

The *Movimento Fiorentino* is particularly worthy of notice, as combating the so-called "dispassionate school" in literature, the followers of Luigi Capuana, and of the preaching,

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes also called the *Boh me Milanese*. The leader was Giuseppe Rovani. Other members were Tarchetti, Pinchetti (author of the *Brindisi del Suicida*), Praga, etc., etc.

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

if not the practice, of Giovanni Verga—men who pride themselves on their scientific spirit, and fill novels with mental pathology and morbid psychological anatomy.

But before explaining in detail what the Florentine Movement is, I wish to trace its development from the beginning. It had its source in one of the most picturesque, the most disordered, the vividest, the most luxuriantly tropical spot in all Italy—in the mind of Gabriele D'Annunzio.

D'Annunzio has always been obsessed with the thought of his own genius. He has seen in himself, not only a master of personal sensation, but the director of the emotions of a people. He called himself "Gabriel of the Annunciation." He wished that he should be remembered, not merely by a dozen volumes of flawless Italian, but by the changed life of a nation. He wished to bend Italy's common life as he bent her every-day language, to make it pure in outline as a statue, glowing with all the colours that fill the valley of the Arno when from Fiesole one sees the sun sink back upon the sea, harmonious as the sounds that the cupola of the Duomo gathers from a Mass of Palestrina.

D'Annunzio called young men to him and told them that "pleasure is the most certain way of knowledge offered to us by Natura, and he who has suffered much knows less of life than he who in it has greatly rejoiced."<sup>1</sup> He surrounded himself with disciples, and spoke to them in dazzling parables. He was enchanting, mystic, sensual, vague, realistic, prophetic, obscene.

All his followers believed in his "idea." None of them knew what it was.

Perhaps it was to give tangibility to this "idea" that D'Annunzio, outspokenly, as in *Il Fuoco*, cryptically, as in *La Gloria*, again and again refers to it.

How not to believe that he would one day give forth this revelation, when all the accompaniments of birth were there—the first half-formed love for the unborn child, the long brooding over the joy to come, the cry of triumph in the midst of the pains of delivery.

But since D'Annunzio is not a prophet, but only a sensi-

<sup>1</sup> *Il Fuoco*.

## THE FLORENTINE MOVEMENT

tive child let loose in the toy-shop of life, the age which he foretold has not begun.

A few years ago, D'Annunzio's disciples deserted him. They were tired of his empty phrases, which were melodious and hollow as a Chinese gong. He said he could have conquered nations. But they saw him conquer nothing but actresses. He said to them: "You must live perfectly." But his own life lacked majesty, if nothing else.

Two men, neither of them much more than boys, stepped forward and took the leadership of the movement. Giovanni Papini ("Gian Falco"), a Florentine, is a man whose instinct forces him to dominate, and only cares for thought as a whip that will make him master of his fellows. The other, Giuseppe Prezzolini ("Giuliano il Sofista"), is a mystic. Gian Falco uses him as a telescope, when he wishes to look at the stars.<sup>1</sup>

Three reviews were founded: the *Leonardo* which is purely philosophical, the *Hermes* literary, and *Il Regno*, which last is political, and appears every week.

At first the men gave most of their attention to philosophy, since they believed that it furnished them with the best means of escape from this world. But all the time the intellectual life of the movement has been guided by the development of the character of its leader, Papini.

He has passed through four distinct stages. The first was characterised by an indiscriminate thirst for knowledge. Gian Falco thought he had discovered that Adam and Eve were turned out of the Garden of Eden because they had not eaten *all* the fruit of the tree, and urged his followers to become gods by attaining perfect knowledge.<sup>2</sup> Obediently they flung themselves into study, and, with charming impartiality, got acquainted with the greatest thinkers, poets, mystics, and scoundrels of the world.

Then Gian Falco bade them seek for salvation through ideal philosophy, and they wandered into the regions of pure thought; until he saw that Latins cannot meet Germans on common ground, and called them back to

<sup>1</sup> Prezzolini is author of *Vita Intima*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Article in *Il Campo*.

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

Pragmatism. The *Leonardo* became the organ of practical philosophy.<sup>1</sup>

Signor Papini, however, had thought of something more practical. He formulated more clearly his ambition to give Italy a national philosophy, a national literature, and politics that were fitted to an united people.

His orders were, that each man should choose a distinct department of work, while making that work subservient to the united aim of all. The result was the splitting up of the *Movimento* into several groups.<sup>2</sup> In the group of mystics, "Quodvultdeus" took to advocating the experience of Christ, holding as he does that our Lord found the truth because he lived, and not because he was told. Giuseppe Vannicola, a young Roman, wrote of Music,<sup>3</sup> calling on it to show to men the will of God. "Il Gentiluomo Malato" criticised, and, with a sneer here and a laugh there, told his friends how young they were—and how intelligent.

There is a group of logicians, mathematicians, and philosophers, men of calmly critical minds, less hopeful and rather older than their colleagues. Vailati, a University professor, who has just discovered G. E. Moore;<sup>4</sup> the Genoese Giovanni Vacca, known as a "maker of paradoxes and Trade Unions"; and others.

The literary group still clings to the D'Annunzian traditions. Borgese translates D'Annunzio's plays into Sicilian, as well as writing exquisite verse of his own. One of the most brilliant of this group, Alfredo Bona, a young barrister at Florence, died last summer. He wrote well; but he spoke better. I never heard from his lips a sentence that was not perfect as the language of D'Annunzio himself.

The artists, too, make a group by themselves. Spadini, de Karolis, and, chief of them all, the painter Costetti.

<sup>1</sup> *Leonardo*, April 1905. "Formation of the Florence Pragmatist Club." I believe it was about this time that Mr. F. C. S. Schiller of Oxford became associated with the movement. He has contributed some very amusing articles entitled "Gesta Deorum" to the *Leonardo*.

<sup>2</sup> Signor Papini himself furnished me with this grouping.

<sup>3</sup> *De Profundis* (Rome, 1905).

<sup>4</sup> "La Ricerca dell'Impossibile," *Leonardo*, Dec. 1905.

## THE FLORENTINE MOVEMENT

Costetti is the one painter of to-day who is worthy to stand beside the great artists that Florence has produced in the past. It is not that he is even remotely like them. He is modern—bewilderingly modern—in spite of the incidental fact of his being able to draw horses that live with the passionate grace of those of Pheidias. Costetti never swerves from the representation of the beautiful, and is incapable of producing the admirably hideous pictures of the modern French School. But one feels that he belongs to a restless, curious, rushing age, which helps out its physical movements with machinery and its mental processes with psychology. His women are the most arresting. They bear all their soul in their eyes. Borgese has written some of his finest sonnets to his friend Costetti.

At last Gian Falco abandoned philosophy, or rather, he trampled it under foot. In his last book, *Il Crepuscolo dei Filosofi*, he takes revenge on the men who have hindered his progress, and shows their uselessness. He felt that they had lured him away from the practical issues of life with vain talk about the Universal and the Infinite; and he had no wish to be another Balthazar Claes, and spend himself in a barren “recherche de l’Absolu.”

“I see,” he says, “the necessity of re-making the world, instead of confining ourselves to contemplating it.” He is willing, however, to meet the philosophers on their own ground, and to fight to the death with the rusty weapons from their own armoury. He successively attacks Kant, Hegel, Schopenhauer, Comte, Spencer, and Nietzsche<sup>1</sup>: all the men who were once his masters and whose views he had in turn rejected.

He takes one unfair advantage of his opponents. To each of them he devotes a small section of a chapter in which he gives a brilliantly contemptuous sketch of the philosopher’s personality and environment; and it is easy to see how much more capable he feels of dealing with Kant, for instance, when he has decided that he is a “piccolo borghese” and that “everything is lacking in his

<sup>1</sup> No philosopher has more influence on the very young men of Italy than Nietzsche. I should think, however, that amongst all his disciples there is not one who is over thirty years of age.



## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

character to make him interesting, even the persecution of the powers that be, and conjugal adventures."

So he heads the last chapter "*Licenzio la Filosofia*," and flings out of his life, along with the remains of the men whom he has disposed of, the conceptions which they tried to impose upon the world.

It will be interesting to consider in some detail the reasons which led Signor Papini to treat philosophy as he does, because these reasons also make clear the attitude of the members of the Florentine Movement to many more important departments of human activity.

For the mind of their leader bends the thoughts of his followers as the sea bends the weeds in the flux and reflux of its tide.

"The common denominator to which all the innumerable forms of human life can be reduced," says Gian Falco, in the above-mentioned chapter, "is this—*the search after instruments for action*, in other words, *the search for power*."

For everything that men have produced, invented, or created, from the plough that upturns the face of the earth, to the superb cathedral where the grandeur of the structure, the stirring harmony of the music, the lights, the vestments, and the voluptuous perfume of the incense, are all deliberately calculated to upheave the soul, may be considered as instruments devised for modifying the world or the mind, the outer or the inner life of man.

Signor Papini proceeds to estimate the value of the several most efficacious instruments men can wield. The test he applies is a strange one—the virtue they possess for "*creating imaginary worlds capable of serving to change the real world*."

*Art* is an attempt to modify our vision of things, to teach us what to look at and how to see it; to enrich our spirits with new desires, and to transform Nature in accordance with our ideals.

*Religion* imagines a world more perfect than our own, where justice and mercy reign, and a Supreme Being who pays self-surrender with the coin that is current in his realm—and which may even pass in this.

*Science*—and here Signor Papini is most ingenious—also

## THE FLORENTINE MOVEMENT

creates an imaginary world. The laws and theories of science, being, as they are, based on arbitrary hypotheses deduced from picked bodies of facts, give us beliefs which to some extent correspond in their nature to artistic and religious tenets. They have the same, though a more limited action in modifying our lives ; and they share the same instability.

*Philosophy*, too, tries to give the universe into men's power. She, like art and religion and science, builds up an imaginary world. She seeks to grasp the immutable region of ideas, and believes that, when she has unfolded to men the laws that govern things-in-themselves, she has given them the surest means of knowing the universe, and of governing it ; since knowledge is power.

These four then, Art, Religion, Science, and Philosophy, are the chiefest sanctuaries where men take refuge from the bitter pursuit of the world that hunts them.

They are, too, the means men employ to change the world ; and to the first three Gian Falco accords a certain measure of praise. Art has been a good school-book to us ; but when we can have certain sensations and see certain visions without reading Shakespeare or hearing Beethoven, Shakespeare and Beethoven will be useless.

Religion, as Art, has enlarged the sphere of our imagination. When, however, our real world is as just, as pure, as satisfying as any we can conceive of, and we ourselves as perfect as the God whom our aspirations have created, Religion will naturally cease to be, just as a girl's dreams die at the touch of the realised kiss of love.

Science, which plays a lesser part in the making of an ideal world, has, on the other hand, greater practical possibilities.

It is amusing to notice how Gian Falco instinctively lowers his voice and modifies his tone of easy superiority before the modern idol of Italy, Science. It is with obvious diffidence that he suggests she should take more account of the mind, which, let me remark incidentally, Italian science is only too ready to do. For nowhere is the quest for the unattainable carried on with greater enthusiasm and less result than in the Italian laboratories of experimental psychology.

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

In Philosophy, however, Signor Papini sees, at worst, a mere juggling with words ; at best, a futile search for an universal law, which, if found, would explain nothing. And philosophers think they have solved the problem of the universe by stating and re-stating it in all the laborious, involved, elaborate, incomprehensible, intangible language they can invent.

He suggests, however, that Philosophy be not entirely scorned. From being the theory of the universal and of the absolute, let it become the theory of action. In fact, he hopes that Pegasus with his wings clipped may yet do some useful work at the plough.

But he turns from Philosophy ; and in his heart seems to be almost the hate, born of fear and love repressed, with which an ascetic gazes upon the damning joys of his abandoned world.

The last words of his book, proudly spoken, are : " I go, by other roads, to the conquest of my divinity."

What these roads may be, or whither they will lead, I do not know. Signor Papini has at his disposal a body of intelligent and resolute men, drawn from all over Italy, into all of whom he has infused the belief that they can become as gods. He has also a certain public in America, Russia, Switzerland, and Paris, where his writings are known.

It seems to me that he does not yet know what his genius will require of him ; but, believing in his own power, he is praying, with outstretched hands, to the divinity within him, as other men pray to God.

I add a quotation from one of his recent letters to me, which foreshadows the next phase of his work.

" Letterariamente parlando, il mio fine è di dare alla letteratura italiana quello che le manca ancora e che invece è abbondante nelle letteratura del norde della mia anima, vale a dire quell' insieme di problemi interni, di sensazioni e questioni eccezionali, mescolato e contornato di lirismo, di humour, e di un po' di pazzia che forma il contenuto predominante di tutto un gruppo di scritti miei (*I consigli di Amleto*, 'Non Voglio più essere quel che sono' fino al 'Demonio mi disse'). Di questi io voglio fare un libro

## THE FLORENTINE MOVEMENT

intitolato *Il Tragico quotidiano*, dove il motivo fondamentale sarà dato dalla 'scoperta dello straordinario nell' ordinario, del terribile e del pauroso nel abituale e nel commune.' Ciò significa ch' io voglio abbandonare da una parte il 'realismo obiettivo' dei nostri veristi, e dall' altra parte anche l'idealismo troppo esclusivamente esteriore e ornamentale dei nostri dannunziani. Io voglio che le mie cose sorprendano ma che facciano pensare. Io cerco il maraviglioso non nelle descrizioni grandiose (Hugo) non nelle avventure singolari (Poe) non nelle suggestioni della scienza (Wells), ma nei misteri improvvisi della vita di tutti i giorni, negli abissi dimenticati della nostra vita spirituale."

I add a free translation—

"Speaking from a literary point of view, my aim is to give to Italian literature what it still lacks—something which is, however, abundant in the northern literature that I love. That is to say, that mixture of problems of the mind, of exterior sensations and questions of the senses, imbued with and bounded by lyricism, by humour, and by a little madness, which makes up the content of a whole group of my writings (*The Counsels of Hamlet*, 'I will no longer be what I am,' down to 'The Devil said to me'). From such materials I mean to make a book called *The Tragedy of Every Day*, the central idea of which will be the discovery of the extraordinary in the ordinary, of the terrible and the awful in the habitual and the common. You may take it, from this, that I mean to abandon, on the one hand, the 'objective realism' of our verists, and, on the other hand, the too objective and fantastic idealism of our D'Annunzians. I want my writings to startle, and to make people think. I look for the marvellous, not in grandiose descriptions (Hugo), not in strange adventures (Poe), not in imaginings prompted by science (Wells), but in the unexpected mysteries of our every day life, in the forgotten depths of our spiritual existence."

AELFRIDA C. W. TILLYARD

## A LABOUR COLLEGE :

### AN EXPERIMENT IN COMMUNAL HOUSEKEEPING

ONE mid-day at the beginning of December, 1898, the writer, whilst sitting at his desk in an office in Manchester, was attracted by a short article sent by a correspondent to *The Manchester Guardian*. It told of the inauguration of a new scheme at Oxford, intended to "place the incomparable educational advantages of that centre of learning at the disposal of young men of small means." It drew a pleasant picture of those "gardens, lawns, and woodlands," in the midst of which are set the colleges, the libraries, and the many ancient and beautiful buildings of the University city. The promoters of the plan had "counted the cost of living" at Oxford, and had discovered the minimum. They proposed to give, to such men as were able to take advantage of their scheme, a year of education in a Hall of Residence at this minimum cost. The object was not the "making and polishing of gentlemen," who would leave their former walk in life. Rather was it anticipated that the students would return to their old work with "new hopes, new sympathies, new knowledge, and new aspirations."

A central hall was to be established in Oxford. Therein a thorough and careful training in subjects of political and social interest would be given to a select number of resident students, drawn in the main from the working classes. Affiliated with the Hall, it was hoped that there would be created throughout the United Kingdom a network of "Correspondence Classes." The instruction in these was to be directed from the centre at Oxford. The branch

## A LABOUR COLLEGE

classes were to be ultimately guided and taught by students trained in and sent out from the Oxford hall itself. To satisfy a very widely expressed craving for intellectual enlightenment, and to build up in the working classes a community of citizens with a clear and reasoned political consciousness, were the aims of the movement. Its object was a purely educational one, the promoter declared. The extremely low cost of living at the Hall, £26 per annum, exclusive of tuition fees—it is, by the way, more now—was to be made a practical estimate by the fact that all domestic work would be done by the students themselves.

The writer decided to join the institution, and, on the request of the founder, took up residence at Oxford a day or two before the public opening of Ruskin Hall in February, 1899. He saw it, therefore, from its very beginnings; for there were then in residence only five students, and the house was not even furnished.

It has been remarked already that the founder had included in his proposal the idea that all resident students should take a share in the domestic work of the house. Thus they would be completely independent of servants; and all expense in this direction would be spared. A certain small number of "working students" on special terms were to perform a disproportionate part of these household duties; the remainder were to be divided equally amongst all. It must unfortunately be admitted, however, that our founder (he no longer has any share in the management of the Hall), although a man of great ideas and, surely, well-intentioned, if of a strange and erratic genius, had but slight capacity for direct, detail organisation. He had wide plans, and the zeal to promote and carry them through. Yet, so far as one could judge from the conditions upon arriving in Oxford, he had adopted this rather curious element into his scheme with no clear notion as to how it could be arranged.

Let the reader imagine for a moment any ordinary housewife confronted with from fifteen to twenty-five inexperienced working-men, newly arrived, in a rambling old house. Let him suppose her then informed that this was her household, for which she must provide, and that

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

this also was the material out of which she must provide for it. Each member of her strange staff of servants *must* have a share in the work. Each *must* again have time for study and lectures. Housekeeping was to begin at once.

Her task would be difficult.

Think, then, of the situation when, without any such capable housewife, the only domestic authority was a sub-warden, whose days had hitherto been spent in a business office. He had apparently been provided with no systematic scheme, and had no systematic housewifely help. It is true that the fact of a few students having lived in the house for some days before the formal opening of the Hall aided matters a little. But the general result was, for a time, though only for a time, little short of anarchic.

The object of the students' existence was to study. Yet housework seemed to present itself at all times during the day.

Despite this, things were ill done and many necessary tasks forgotten. Little co-operation lightened the heavier jobs. Discontent began to grow. A real change was necessary.

Three weeks passed. After a good deal of discussion, and some friction, a small section of the residents then decided that the only effective course would be to draw up a definite scheme for the control of household affairs by the students themselves. Typewritten copies of it were to be submitted to all residents for approval. Thereafter, if these proposals seemed satisfactory to all, it was suggested that the founder should be invited to attend a meeting, at which he might be asked to express his sanction or his disapproval of the new plan.

All this was done. A scheme, primarily drafted by a small committee of three, then agreed to by the students generally, was finally accepted, almost without alteration, by the founder of the Hall. Entitled at this meeting, where it was acknowledged, "Regulations for the Domestic Organisation of Ruskin Hall," it was ever afterwards known, in the peculiar slang which always gave such an interesting political tinge to the internal life of our Hall, as "The Constitution."

Anarchy was at an end. From this time forward, the

## A LABOUR COLLEGE

era of Constitutional Government and of communal house-keeping really began. Yet many tiny struggles remained to be fought out, half in joke, half in earnest, over the interpretation of the "Constitution" and the consolidation of our "executive" system, by the devising of a Plan for the automatic weekly re-arrangement of all household duties.

By the terms of the "Constitution" (almost the exact wording is given) the direction of the domestic organisation of Ruskin Hall was entrusted to the whole body of resident students. A general meeting was to be held weekly for the purposes of management and control. Three managing "Delegates" were to be appointed at once by this general assembly—always known as the "House Meeting." Thenceforward one "Delegate" would retire, and one be elected, each week. So that three fresh men, new to the customs of the Hall, could never be in office together; and each would hold his place for three weeks.

The managing "Delegates" were :—

- (a) To directly control, supervise, and be responsible for the carrying out of all regulations enacted by the general assembly;
- (b) To submit to the general assembly prepared reports, and to answer all questions and criticisms.

They alone were to be directly responsible to the Faculty of the Hall for the preservation of good order, and the observance of the constituted regulations.

Along with this administrative scheme, certain by-laws were laid down. "Proposals on Details of Organisation" they were called. The essence of them lay in the principle that household work should be done, as much as possible, before breakfast and after dinner, now arranged for six o'clock in the evening instead of at mid-day. In this way the whole of the middle of the day was left practically free. The first three "Delegates" arranged a list of duties, a plan of work, and, to avoid a succession of the less capable, a rotation of "Delegates." All of these were submitted to the House Meeting. With some difficulty the new *régime* was inaugurated; and matters went more smoothly.

At the same time, this "social contract" was not brought



## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

into action entirely without opposition. Before the institution started, there had been a good deal of vagueness with regard to the proposed conditions of its life. Certain students arrived, apparently without knowledge of the regulations relating to housework. So it happened that one of our members—a man well on in middle life—flatly refused to fall in with our scheme. He gathered to himself the two youngest members of our little community—the son of a Kent farmer, an ingenuous boy universally known as “Go'lumme,” from his favourite but most innocent use of this delicious expletive, and this lad's chosen chum, a much more sprightly youth, now a smart young soldier. The latter's father, being on the immediate point of departing for Persia, had brought his son down to Oxford under the mistaken belief that Ruskin Hall was a “Commercial Academy”; and, having so brought him, thought the boy might very well be left there for a while. Such was the atmosphere of misunderstanding in which our institution started.

This little body of three formed our party of “Opposition.” Resolute irreconcilables on every question for a time, their amiability at last got the better of their determination. They fell with the rest of us under the spell of the “Constitution.” Their leader soon consented to be at least the “Man on the Lamps.”<sup>1</sup> This was the thin edge of the wedge. It led to a complete conformity, and to the wholesome death of our “Opposition.”

It has been mentioned, moreover, that it was part of the founder's plan to have two classes of students—working and ordinary. The working students were to do the main part of the housework, in return for their board and lodging. This was speedily found to be a rather unfortunate arrangement. It is to the credit of the general body of the students that they soon ignored this distinction, and took over in common the whole of the housework. For example, one of their first rules laid down that “a Saturday morning scrub be undertaken by all non-paying members co-operatively.” Yet, from the beginning, volunteers from amongst the other

<sup>1</sup> Such was our phrase to describe most household officers, e. g. “The Man on the Coals,” “The Man on the Stairs,” “The Man on the Knives,” etc.

## A LABOUR COLLEGE

residents aided at this necessary task, to such an extent that it was soon reckoned as an ordinary duty, and divided equally amongst all in the Hall. The office of "Dinner Cook" also started upon this peculiar status, quickly to become a job shared by all.

A complex system of communal housekeeping was now in full action. It was undertaken and managed by the students, for the students, under an organisation evolved and set going by themselves. Every student went the round of all tasks, regularly shared in general administration, and took his periodic turn on the executive body of "Delegates."

Every Monday evening a House Meeting was held, and a chairman elected for the night. The "Delegates" made their report on the week's working of the Hall, and read out their arrangements for the ensuing seven days. The senior "Delegate" retired; and a new man was appointed. Anything connected with these various matters was discussed as they were settled. The House was then thrown open for general business, and for debate upon any question appertaining to the conduct of the Hall or to reforms or changes in its administration. Finally, the chairman put the question whether any member had any further business to introduce, and, in the event of no reply, broke up the meeting for another week. Various regulations were in the course of time devised in regard to the submission of motions introducing radical alterations. There were checks also upon any sudden "revolution" by a catch majority.

The nature of the House Meetings varied immensely. Sometimes the necessary routine of business was quickly over, and the House adjourned. At others, when some burning question of regulation, discipline, or principle was brought forward, vehement speeches followed one another in rapid succession. A long list of resolutions, amendments, and riders was flung out, testing all the powers of the chairman's memory and all his capacity for keeping order. It was a capital training. In the end, moreover, the chairman's ruling was always accepted without demur. These storms were mainly on the surface, and good-tempered.

It was perhaps a ponderous system; but it had to meet curious conditions. Along with this possible defect, there

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

came in compensation an interest and a value that must be estimated very highly. So much so, that the writer, for one, will never regret the experience and the knowledge gained in the course of conducting the business of this house. One saw an institution managed by debate through an assembly, following all the rules of parliamentary procedure. Its members started, in ignorance and without precedent, an entirely new experiment. Their minds were full of political and social thoughts, and theories, and aspirations.

Any one who reflects upon all this will see what a valuable laboratory of political phenomena we created for ourselves. It was amazingly interesting to see our "Constitution," in the common way of written grants of privilege, and just as all assumption of responsibility will lead to a claim for powers, slowly broaden its demands as its terms were elaborated. It was a great lesson to watch precedents in their curious fashion winning a power all their own, and to notice the final consummation of our reign of law, when the weekly distribution of house duties became an almost automatic deduction from a stereotyped "Plan," accepted with full confidence as an ultimate and irrefutable authority.

The house duties finally became divided into a maximum of twenty-five tasks, taken in rotation by all students. About half were special duties; the rest were performed by groups of men in common. A regular sequence of tasks fell out from the "Plan," as the numbers in the Hall ebbed and flowed. Scarcely any job again was performed entirely single-handed. Thus all new arrivals had some senior resident to instruct them in the ways of the house and in their work. There were, too, barely a dozen tasks which occupied the middle of the day; and all, except those of the "Delegates," the "Caterer," the "Dinner Cook" and his "Assistant," were brief.

At this time also it was an almost universal custom for all residing in the house to join in the common tasks, even visitors and visiting lecturers. Where all did the same, there could not be the unpleasantness attached to what is so foolishly stigmatised as "menial work." To quote an example, the writer has had the pleasure of seeing, amongst

## A LABOUR COLLEGE

many others, Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., when he once came down to lecture for us, playing very efficiently the part of a "Man on the Wash-up," rolling up his sleeves and plunging his arms into the bathful of crockery, without ever hesitating as to whether he should take refuge behind the "softer" job of wiping.

The writer's experience of Ruskin Hall has certainly not led him to the conclusion, despite various changes now inaugurated there, and many initial difficulties over making things run smoothly, that such an experiment in communal housekeeping is impracticable or without its value. The three main duties of the daily "Sweep and Dust," the daily "Wash-up," and the weekly "Scrub," need not be more than a slight interference with study, when divided amongst a whole household and relegated to the early morning and evening.

We were certainly a little foolish in carrying too far the principle of giving to all equal shares in all duties. Cooks are born, not made. Thus the rapid manufacture we attempted produced occasionally disastrous results. Yet those with the innate genius for this task, our chief problem in carrying out the strict "Equality" rule, appeared in quite a fair proportion to our total numbers. They soon showed their capacity in the lighter work of breakfast and luncheon cooks or assistants. To separate a small section for this special job would, therefore, have been easy, and no radical subversion of our general rule of equal burdens all round, so long as there remained some such compensating advantage as "Cook's Holiday"—the institution of a week entirely off duty after this period of unusual work. It was a substantial error of judgment, which prevented us from breaking in upon the rigidity of our regulations in this respect.

There is no need to dwell upon the obvious financial economies of the system.

Many other extraneous gains might be indicated. It brought us extraordinarily near together in our common life. It gave us a useful training, and much understanding, in many directions, of many problems.

Much is heard now-a-days of the advantages of the residential University system, and of the *camaraderie* and

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

good spirit it creates amongst a certain class. Could not more attention be paid to such a scheme as this, which might help to extend that system and its good qualities to another class, whilst avoiding the great extravagance of existing examples of it?

Leaving its domestic side, one could say much upon the social life of the Hall and the charm of this free and easy, somewhat Bohemian style of existence, in intimate and close companionship with so interesting a body of men. For though, maybe, they were often wrong-headed to a degree, they never failed to have many keen interests, and never took the things of this life with a thoughtless, stolid acceptance. Radicals, Socialists, Anarchists, Fabians, S. D. F.s, I. L. P.s, Spiritualists, Agnostics, Orthodox Christians—Salvationists, Congregationalists, Churchmen—examples of all creeds and beliefs, extreme and moderate, had to defend their prejudices and their convictions. Besides the main body of Englishmen, Welshmen, Scotsmen, and Irishmen, representatives of almost every nation in Europe appeared amongst us at different times, from Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Russia, Germany, Holland, France, Switzerland, Portugal, and Italy, not to speak of more distant regions, such as America, Canada, India, and South Africa. The institution is scarcely so cosmopolitan, the writer believes, now that the average time spent by a single student in the Hall is much longer, and men do not come and go so rapidly. But it still gets foreign students.

It has not been the object of this article to give main attention to the educational results of their residence upon the students. Experience, too, has led to many modifications in the curriculum. But, if it is necessary to state some exact particulars, all certainly gained amongst other things a substantial knowledge of English history, and a vastly improved ability to express themselves. In regard to Sociology, the second main object of instruction, the writer does not care to speak, holding views rather antagonistic to a recognition of its value. It should, however, be said, that the most striking result in this direction of Education was to produce a certain general change in attitude and in quality of mind, rather than to give a definite, large acquisition

## A LABOUR COLLEGE

of scholarship in any form. Students came with a curious sense of the finite nature of knowledge, as something which could be gripped and accurately rounded off. They found it an evasive, ever-receding thing, and (the writer, of course, is stating his own opinions and impressions) gained a more truly scientific sense of compromise in regard both to knowledge and to theory. History was discovered to be, not something which would fall in with any particular, favourite, political or social principle or scheme. It was found to be teeming with controversy, doubt, and difficulty. There is little wonder, considering the enthusiasm with which all set off in their search for information, that in many cases something like despair was the result for a time. But in the end a better spirit came. Students did at last return to their old life with a deeper sense of light. But they won also a humbler and befitting consciousness of the greater surrounding darkness. A more generous, tolerating spirit, a notion of necessary limitations in the possibilities of life, gave place to the tumultuous enthusiasms which possessed them at first.

Ruskin Hall has now shaken itself free from many of the inevitable indiscretions of its youthful heterodoxy. The conditions of domestic management there are a good deal altered. "The Caterer" is no longer a student. There is a permanent paid cook. No member of the Faculty now shares in the general housework. The institution has, moreover, raised itself to the dignity of "Ruskin College," and has acquired a property, on the site of which it wishes to erect its own buildings. It is winning the necessary official recognition and confidence of working-class organisations, the writer is given to understand. Its first member was returned to Parliament at the last General Election.

The gains are great, maybe. But, with this youthful wildness, if such it was, let it be hoped there has not declined that pleasant spice of good fellowship and of Bohemianism which, in those early days, gave so wonderful a zest to existence in the Hall, and tided its students over the many difficulties and disagreeables which must be attendant upon an institution so newly started, and so utterly without precedent to guide it on its way. All old

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

students will admit the solid advantages that may accompany a more sober maturity. All must, still, look back with regret to those pleasant days when, to enthusiasms not yet taught the virtue and the necessity of compromise, everything wished for seemed possible of achievement—even the establishment in the heart of a competitive community of a little society of students, which, whilst regulating its own internal affairs, was to eliminate from its own circle all inequality of burdens and all class distinctions. That was to be so, indeed, though it lived under a little polity, a real miniature State, with a Fixed Constitution and its supplementary executive schedules, "The Plan" and "The Details of Duties," with a House of Assembly, a Ministry, and a series of executive officials.

"If we imagine the State in process of creation," Plato suggests in the *Republic*, "we shall see the justice and the injustice of the State in process of creation."

No imagination was necessary for us. It was a State we saw, though of the tiniest compass, compressed within the four walls of a single house. It grew from nothing; and, in its growth, there were worked out for those with eyes to see, not only principles of justice and injustice, but a very living compendium of social and political truths.

E. BRUCE FORREST

## GEORGE MARLOWE

**E**VER since I coached him ten years ago, I have always thought that George Marlowe was a singular person, and rather wondered why I liked him ; still more, why he appeared to like me. The last few weeks have revived both questions.

He is now doing well at the Bar ; and this summer he has taken a cottage down here, in Sussex, where he spends the week-ends. For the last month, it being Long Vacation, he has been here permanently ; and, in consequence, I have again been seeing something of him. One day, not long ago, we had arranged to play golf ; and I was to join him at the house of some common friends, where he had been lunching. As I approached the house, a little late, he came in sight through the gate and took the road towards me, walking rather slowly, and flicking off the heads of the hemlocks as he came. He had not observed me ; and, as I drew near, I judged from his expression and the movement of his lips that he was swearing under his breath. As soon as he saw me, he shook off his abstraction, and hailed me ; and we walked on together. Presently he suggested, with some apology, that we should give up golf for the day and ride instead. " They've got a gee at the inn that will do you all right. I hope you don't mind ; but the fact is I want to clear my head a little—and my temper. Golf would not do. I'll tell you more later on."

I consented ; and in time we started. He rode his own horse, which he kept at the inn, and I the one he had recommended. It justified his recommendation ; but, being no great horseman, I was not sorry when the ride ended. He kept me going for three hours, and it was a hot day.



## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

Wherever there was grass we galloped; on the road we trotted steadily. I went home with him to dinner. It was simple, but carefully chosen, as his dinners always are. When it was over and our pipes were alight, he put me into a chair, seated himself on the table opposite me, and began.

"Well now, I said I'd tell you what I was thinking about, so I had better begin; though it's not a very easy topic. You know that I am engaged to Miss Brown. When I went there for lunch to-day, the maid showed me into the drawing-room, thinking it was empty. However, it was not. I found Miss Selden—Mary's cousin, as you probably know—sitting in the alcove. We were both surprised; for I did not know she was here, and she had not heard me come in. Still, that was nothing very alarming, you'll say. No, but the thing is this. That accidental surprise had a consequence. I need not mention details; but, unless I am very much mistaken, that young lady is, well, somewhat 'attached' to me. And, what's more, I am quite sure that I am attached to her. So you see."

I whistled an air: and he responded: "Exactly. Here is a pretty how-d'ye-do. But before you comment on the situation, let me explain a little. Doubtless you are thinking that I am—a little polygamous, eh?"

"Hardly that yet; but there seems a danger of it."

"Just so, but that is not it. It isn't 'were t'other dear charmer away.' There is only one charmer for me; but the trouble is, it's the wrong one. I had a dim suspicion before; but I only found out for certain to-day. I must tell you how it is. I have known Miss Selden a long time, and liked her. We have tastes in common, and were intimate in a way. She writes a little, and I write a little (privately, as you know, for professional reasons). She doesn't think much of my novels, and I (tell it not!) think even less of her poems. Still, she has intelligence, and some sympathy; and we can talk sensibly about things we both like. Hence there was a sort of intimacy; and now and then it occurred to me that I liked her a good deal. But you know I am a cautious man; so, when that idea occurred to me, I sup-

## GEORGE MARLOWE

pressed it. These literary affinities, thinks I, are deceitful things. One mistakes the warmth of a common enthusiasm for personal affection. Don't you make that vulgar blunder ; you've seen it made too often. So I was shy on that ground. Besides, I had another reason. For purposes of conversation, intelligent women are to be preferred ; for purposes of marriage they are commonly less useful. I know opinions differ, and I am liberal-minded. I always encourage my friends to marry clever wives ; it's pleasanter for me. But, for myself, I choose the humbler road. In the long run what a man wants in this life is some one to darn his socks. That was my conviction ; and I acted accordingly. I have no right to say that Miss Selden is unable to darn socks, for I never asked her ; but I felt sure that she would not darn in the right wifely spirit. She would never view darning as the crown and glory of her life, the thing she came into the world to do ; and that's what a wife should. Moreover, I had often observed that she never heeded what she ate. When alone, I believe she eats biscuits, to save trouble. In a man, of course that would be damning ; in a woman it is more pardonable. In a young girl it may be passed as ethereal and romantic ; but in a wife—no. It is too dangerous. No half-cooked dinners for me, said I.

“However, I thought it was about time to marry ; and, having settled the principle of selection, I set out to choose. And I chose soon, with great discretion and success. I found exactly what I wanted, and all went nicely. I had no difficulty in bringing my affections up to a proper degree of warmth, a gentle glow suited for the domestic hearth. It is fair to the lady to say that she deserved more, much more ; and the fact that I did not feel it perhaps shows that I was unconsciously preoccupied. Besides, to start as I did, deliberately, is probably not the way to fall deep in love. However, we became engaged, and every one was delighted. It was a ‘very suitable match’ ; and we ourselves found it highly agreeable. We have had a very pleasant summer.

“Then to-day came this little accident ; and I made the discovery I mentioned. You may call it surprising, but not if you stop to think. It had not entered my head before that she cared for me. As soon as it did, I realised my own

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

state of mind. That was perfectly natural. And, having realised it, the question is settled. It is quite clear that I am in earnest this time. Please understand that. We'll discuss the morals of it presently, and you may call me any names you prefer ; but understand first that the matter is serious. Such a sudden change is undignified, I grant, and shows that I must be more obtuse than I thought ; but there's no going back now. Your little infant Cupids may sometimes be strangled, if you catch them young enough ; I thought I had suppressed this one. But the villain has tricked me ; he has grown up unperceived, and the game is his. I am not going to fight, for it would be no use. I don't mind tackling infants ; but a full-grown Eros is too strong for me. I am not fool enough to try a fall with the 'invincible in fight.' I should not win ; and I had better yield before any bones are broken. I had settled that much before I saw you this afternoon.

"That's the situation. How to deal with it is what occupied me for the first hour of our ride. But before we come to that, let me offer you some refreshment. Have some more wine. I shall be happier, if you will. You must need fortifying to endure all this ; and there is more to come."

"No, thanks, I am not bored," I said truthfully. "I don't often meet a man who explains himself with such admirable frankness. Go on, by all means."

"I will. I am proof against sarcasm ; and I am glad you realise your privileges. Not every one, as you justly observe, tells the truth so ingenuously ; and even I don't tell it to every one. But I have a reason for telling you ; and, happily, I am singularly shameless. And what is more, I know you like me for it ; though you have to soothe your conventionalised conscience by pretending you don't. You'll have a lot more hypocrisy to do presently ; so let me resume. You have grasped, I hope, that I am booked, and can't go back ?"

"Suppose so, for the present, any how. When I hear where you propose to go, I may have something to say. Evidently you have a plan."

"Quite so, and we shall get to it in time ; but don't

## GEORGE MARLOWE

hurry me. For the first half hour I turned over the most obvious solutions. First of all came the plan of the conscientious and right-thinking man. He, it is clear, would say stolidly: 'I have given my word, and must keep it. Never mind the consequences.' That solution did not detain me long. I like virtue; but, as usual, the virtuous course would inflict the maximum of unpleasantness on all concerned, and advantage none. It would be unpleasant for me; for, as things are, I should find it laborious to pretend affection from now till death. Unpleasant for Mary, because it is ten to one that she would find out the pretence; and, even if she did not, she deserves something better than I can provide. She would be sure in time to feel chilly. Lastly, it would obviously be unpleasant for the third person concerned, if I have gauged her feelings rightly. There are people, I grant, who get more pleasure from the sense of martyrdom than they would from the thing resigned; but she does not belong to that unpleasant class. Nor (though I would not be thought to boast) do I."

With this I agreed readily.

"Well, that plan being dismissed, comes number two; which I had reached about the time we got on to the Downs. Suppose me still virtuous, but a little bolder. I see that the present situation is impossible; and so, like an honest, downright Briton, as I am, I make a clean breast of all, and get loose. This course is one degree more specious. It at least recognises the facts, and it does break the knot. It has an air of courage and resolution. But what a blundering, dunder-headed plan! How lacking in ingenuity! I have got shut into a room, and I can think of no better way out than to set light to the house. We may get out; but we shall all be scorched first. This method would be even less agreeable than the first. Mary will scarcely enjoy it; for no one, I believe, enjoys being jilted, and she is at present rather fond of me. It won't be fun for me. 'My dear, I'm very sorry; but I find I have made a mistake. I didn't really want to marry you. A thousand apologies, but it can't be helped; ta ta.' It sounds rather humiliatingly flat, doesn't it? Then again, the third person. For her, you will think, it might be pleasanter. But it won't. I know her; and if

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

she thinks I have behaved badly to her cousin, she'll never look at me again. You may not believe it ; but I am sure. Mary will cry ; she will be full of sympathy and indignation ; and I shall be an outcast. If she wanted to relent afterwards, pride won't let her. Pride is a sinful, inconvenient sentiment. Thank heaven, I have little of it myself, as you perceive ; but I have observed its effects in others. Miss Selden has much of it ; and, like other people in the same predicament, she will gleefully offer herself and all her neighbours to the idol.

"There, you see, is the stumbling-block. If blurting out the truth would advance matters, I would overcome my dislike to such clumsy methods, and tell it. But instead, it would ruin all, and finally.

"I soon grasped that ; and then came perplexity. The obvious courses being clearly inexpedient, I must find another. The conditions are defined. I must get free ; but in the process I must not hurt Mary, or else I shall lose Helen. But if it can be accomplished gently and quietly, we shall all be happy. But how ? I spent a good hour thinking about it, and turned over various plans. It became clear first of all that I must not jilt Mary. She must jilt me ; partly for her sake, partly for mine and Helen's. It will be much pleasanter for her, and I shall then not fall into disgrace ; I, not she, will be pitied. That's clear, isn't it ?"

"Most clear," I replied, "you reason convincingly. A cool head under such circumstances is an invaluable possession."

Still too well assured of his superiority to resent sarcasm, he bowed in mock acknowledgment, and proceeded.

"Thank you, I am glad you perceive my merits, though you cannot appreciate them. Now, how is the end to be achieved ? I can see only one way. Mary must fall in love with some one else. It is not difficult. If the right person can be provided, her domestic affection for me will give way, just as mine has done. It is only requisite that he should be really in love ; and then she will catch fire. It remains to find him and bring him into action. Really she is a person whom most men ought to fall in love with, given

## GEORGE MARLOWE

the opportunity. There must be plenty of candidates. In fact, I think I know one already. Unless I am mistaken, our friend Lamb would be only too happy to apply, if he thought the place was vacant. He is eligible, most deserving, and, I should think, attractive. If he knew the way was clear, and gave his mind to it, he ought to supplant me. He can bring passion to bear, which I could not. She will soon feel the difference ; and then she won't want me.

"You'll see now why I have told you all this. Lamb must be brought into action. It's there that you can help me. I can hardly go to him and say : 'My dear sir, I believe you to be attached to Miss Brown. I am getting a little tired of her myself, and I should be infinitely obliged if you would take her off my hands.' It wouldn't do. He's not very proud ; but, if the matter were put to him so baldly, he would probably reply that he did not want my leavings. It must be handled discreetly, and then he will rise. Now you are the man. You have discretion and tact, and would do it well ; so I want you to break it to him. What do you say ?"

"Well," I said, after a pause, "it would be superfluous to tell you that you are the very coolest young man I have ever had the pleasure of meeting ; for I have told you that many times before. But really, you surpass yourself ; you surpass my utmost hopes of your possibilities."

"Do I ? This is honour indeed, for I know you expect a good deal of me. Of course, it is a delicate matter, and I am sorry to be troublesome ; but for so good a cause I hoped that you would be willing."

"This is better and better. 'So good a cause,' quotha ! And you assume that your ingenious little scheme has my approval—my enthusiasm, in fact ?"

"Why, to be sure. It is so obviously for the good of all parties. We all stand to gain. I not only get the three persons engaged out of a tangle ; but, out of pure philanthropy, I make a fourth person happy. Four happy people, instead of three unhappy and one ambiguous, which is the best the virtuous man could do. It is no end of a scheme." His enthusiasm was unaffected.

"It is certainly attractive, as you put it," I admitted ;

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

“but, as you know, if you are cautious, I am critical; and I confess that one or two small difficulties occur to me. First, I am not so well assured of the universal bliss, which you expect to follow. Granted that Miss Brown will be happy in being saved from such a husband as you proposed to be, I am not equally sure that Miss Selden will be the happier for marrying you. Even if you are right about her present feelings, I fear she might find her anticipations were not realised. If she had been here to-night, she might perhaps have thought that a lover so singularly provident and dispassionate was almost too good for the average woman. She might even have noticed some other traits which she did not altogether like.”

“Dear me, this is serious. You may traduce my character as much as you like; but pray let me know the particular defects which are likely to offend her. Her opinion is important.”

“I will try to oblige you. As you recounted your pre-nuptial calculations and weighings of *pros* and *cons*, and, later on, your balancing of different expedients, it occurred to me once or twice that the lady concerned might feel some shock to that pride of which you stand in awe. She might fancy that she was scrutinised and appraised rather too much as you would scrutinise a horse. Such a fancy might be painful to her. Or again, as you discussed the scheme, she might have thought that you view men and women as counters to be manipulated for your own purposes, without regard to their private preferences; and that, on the whole, your respect for women and your views of marriage were less high than she could wish. Something in your way of speaking of your present *fiancée* might give rise to that suspicion. It seemed to me that such things as these might have occurred to her. What do you think?”

He reflected a little, and then said: “Yes, I dare say they might. I am obliged to you for pointing it out. I am not fool enough to suppose that I can tell how a woman will look at anything; but very likely they would strike her as you say. But let us leave her for a moment. Obviously you are putting your own objections into her mouth; and, first of all, as I want your help, I must convince you

## GEORGE MARLOWE

that, whether hers or yours, they are ill-founded. You will pardon a short apologia. The charges, I understand, are three : I am too calculating, I use men as puppets, I don't respect women. Is that correct ? ”

“ That will do for the present,” I said.

“ Very good. I begin with the last two, for they illustrate the first. ‘ I treat men as puppets.’ Certainly, and so does every man, so far as he is able. Every man considers his neighbours first in relation to his own interest, and uses them as a means to it. That surely needs no proof. It is true that many disguise the fact from themselves, or are honestly too stupid to perceive it ; but you will hardly say they are better for being stupid, or for being self-deceived.”

“ I am not sure but I might,” I said. “ But go on.”

“ Wait a moment, please. I am not maintaining that all actions are selfish, in the common sense—that's a patent fallacy ; but only that, if you have to deal with people at all, you must consider how their characters and actions will affect your interest, and manipulate them accordingly. It is surely no crime to do so with forethought and care. On the contrary, it is criminal to be careless. But it does not follow that you have no regard for their feelings. You strike a balance between their interests and your own. You may even be solicitous for their good. Haven't I given you an example ? The very beauty of my scheme is that it works out well for all. So much for my treating men as puppets. The only real difficulty is, that it sometimes is inexpedient to explain to your neighbours for what end you are using them ; and they may not like that. But we shall come to that presently.

“ Next, ‘ I don't respect women.’ My dear sir, I respect women as much as I respect men ; and I respect them as much as I respect myself. You can't ask for more than that. It is true that my respect, even for myself, is limited ; but that can't be helped. Respect must be proportioned to merit. I give a man credit for whatever qualities he individually possesses, and expect as much from him. I do not set up an image endowed with venerable attributes, and call it ‘ Man,’ and then do homage to every



## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

individual who remotely resembles it. I have no use for abstractions. The 'dignity of human nature' means nothing to me. All men, as far as I can see, have something in them worthy of respect, and something worthy of contempt, and usually something worthy of sympathy. I pay to each quality what it deserves ; and, as the proportions vary, my payment varies too. The meanest I respect in some degree ; the best I despise a little.

" But then, apart from character, men claim respect for feelings and beliefs, and so on. Here too I discriminate. If a feeling or a belief deserves respect, I respect it. If not, respect is impossible, however much its possessor values and cherishes it. I am not bound to obtrude on him my dissent or my contempt ; but I cannot pretend veneration, and I cannot change my course in deference to his error. And I ask no man to defer to mine.

" It is here, I suppose, that I fail in respect to women. I should treat every woman as an embodiment of the ideal which convention has set up for the sex, however little she resembles it. And I should respect her notions of feminine dignity, and her conventional ideal of marriage, however little they may be appropriate to her personally. But I don't. I ascribe to each woman what I actually see in her. If one woman has a gift for romantic passion, I acknowledge it freely. If another is designed by Nature for unromantic utility, I acknowledge that too. In either case I respect the gift she has. If, as not rarely happens, she mistakes her end, and, being obviously meant for domestic purposes, cherishes a fancy that she is adapted for high romance, I am not bound to make the same mistake. Naturally I do not point out her error to her ; but why must I deceive myself, even if I happen to be engaged to her ? If I don't, am I wanting in respect ? Certainly not. The domestic treasure is as valuable as the subject of passion. But why confound dissimilar kinds of excellence ? It is a most dangerous mistake.

" 'But,' you will say, 'you can't explain to the lady your estimate of her ; and some deception is involved.' Quite so ; and that brings us back to the former objection, that people do not always like being managed for their own good, and

without their consent. Now that's just one of those feelings which, as it is neither rational nor useful, I do not feel bound to respect. It is abundantly clear that in many cases a man's affairs can be better managed by another than by himself. If you consult him and so give him a chance to meddle, he will spoil all. Very well. If a man by keeping me in the dark can do me a good turn, I shall not resent it. I shall be grateful ; and, in return for the favour, I shall do as much for him, when occasion comes. I 'do unto others,' in fact ; and you can't ask for more.

"But you think, perhaps, that there's something indelicate in applying this principle, though it is the highest possible, to a lady, especially to the lady you design to marry. Bless me, do you think that she will never manage me for my good, and never keep me in the dark ? Of course she will ; at least I hope so. And when she does, I shall not accuse her of lacking respect for me. Have I answered you ?"

"Not quite, if you will pardon my obstinacy. There is still that first difficulty : that she might think you a little too dispassionate and ingenious for a husband."

"Yes, I forgot. No doubt she might ; but really I hope she would be above it. It is a very old fallacy."

"What is ?"

"The belief that a man who keeps his head, and looks for realities instead of fictions, and who adapts his plans to them, is therefore devoid of real feeling. For that is the gist of the charge. Really, it is absurd. In other matters you do not argue so. If a capitalist, scheming for a corner, lays his plans coolly and looks far ahead, do you take that as a proof that his love of money is insincere ? Was Cesare Borgia's ambition less sincere or less intense, because his measures commanded the admiration of Machiavelli ?

"In the case of other passions, the pains a man takes to secure his object are held to prove the strength of his desire for it ; and why must love act differently ? Can a man not lose his heart without losing his wits too ? Well, perhaps he can't ; but then he is only mad on one point. If he cannot clearly see the object of his pursuit, he is sane as to the means of obtaining it. Here again he is not singular.

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

Power and money are reported to be as disappointing as love ; but their votaries ignore the warning. Like the lover, they are blind to the imperfections of their mistress, and hope for an impossible happiness. So far all are mad alike ; but only so far. They keep their wits in other matters. And why may not a lover scheme as coolly as a politician ? As well ? Nay, he does it better. Believe the poets. Love is as fine a stimulator of the invention as wine. No third power comes into competition. The politician can only scheme with the wits he has ; but love and wine impart new faculties. (*Vide* the authorities already quoted.) *Ergo*, if I scheme, it is the best possible proof that I am in love. The only suspicious circumstance is, that my scheme is, after all, fairly obvious. A mere politician might have invented it.

“That is defence enough for a reasonable man ; but you are so incorrigibly sceptical, that I must add more. You don’t look thoroughly convinced. Must you have it proved that I am mad ? Why then, remember what I said at first. I gave you satisfactory reasons why I should not fall in love with Miss Selden. For aught I know, they are as valid as ever they were ; yet you see me ignoring them. I am prepared to risk the half-cooked dinners. Moreover, I have all the pessimists and cynics by heart. I know that I am venturing on an outside chance ; and I am prepared to do it. As a matter of fact, I don’t calculate chances. Reason simply goes. I know well enough that I am mad ; but I don’t wish to be sane. I like risks ; the more the merrier. Is this possible to such a calculating party as I am ? Yes, it is ; and that’s the singular fact.”

Some time before this he had left his seat on the table, and was walking up and down ; now he stopped again, and stood in front of me.

“Thus it is clear that I am mad. But still I see an objection on your lips. ‘I grant you may calculate and yet be in love ; but I don’t like it.’ A calculating lover may be in earnest, but he is not the best kind. Love, the finest variety, is, according to the best authorities, an exalted and fastidious passion. It shrinks from every course below the highest pitch of nobility. All the actions of the true and

authentic lover must be unimpeachably generous, magnanimous, frank, lordly. Sooner than fall below this, he must sacrifice even his love. 'I could not love thee, Dear, so much,' and so on. Now scheming, though more efficient, is esteemed less noble than simplicity; and so the high-class lover will disdain it: *ruat caelum*. It follows that I, who scheme, though I may be a true, am not a high-class lover. My love, if not exactly spurious, is a sordid and inferior article, not fit to be offered to a lady of such distinguished merit as Miss Selden. That, I take it, is in your mind just now."

"I might not have expressed the idea in quite those terms. It is considerate of you to save me embarrassment."

"Naturally I am considerate; for I require your help. For the same reason, I gave you that '47. Besides, you know what it is without being told; and that's a comfort in these days, I admit.

"But to my defence, or rather, to my plea; for this time I make no defence. I can only throw myself on your mercy. I am not a high-class lover, if, to be such, I must first be a fool. I do not propose to sacrifice myself and other people to a scruple which I do not feel. It would be enough for some men that other people feel it; but I fall short of that. My own scruples are as much as I have leisure for; and even I have some. Pray observe that my plan is perfectly innocent. I have not suggested, for instance, the one of drugs, though it would be very convenient; and I have some knowledge of vegetable poisons. You may perhaps wish that my scruples went farther; but the question is this: 'Am I such an outcast that Miss Selden, if she married me, would be unhappy?' If not, my shortcomings are irrelevant; and, for the sake of the general happiness, it is your duty to assist me.

"Before you answer, let me remind you that good women like reforming bad men; or so it is supposed. Do not deprive her of that pleasure, or me of the chance of redemption. Or am I too bad for that? I beg your pardon for being so prolix."

"Pray don't, I may repay you in kind. But I shall not answer your last question; for it is not serious. You don't,

you know, believe yourself that you need reforming ; and that, we are told, is the essential preliminary to amendment. And, on consideration, I hardly think I shall argue the other points either. If you are right on the main point, the objections do not matter. If the lady likes you enough, she will put up with much, and will probably be less unhappy that way than the other ; provided, of course, that she belongs to the class whose happiness depends on these things. That is more than I know. But, if she does not, then I think she can protect herself ; for I imagine she has wit enough to see that there will be drawbacks. But if she is of that mould, I will not meddle. I am not fool enough to argue with a man or woman bent on following his passion, even if I foresee risks.

"And, after all, who knows ? It is sometimes wisest to be mad. And if you are destined to this kind of madness, as it seems you are, it is better to be mad in time. Later on it may be a little ghastly. I have seen men and women who left it till too late ; and I have been sorry for them."

"Then you will help me ?" he broke in. "That's right. I hoped you would, when you saw the case clearly. But it is very kind of you."

"Wait a moment ;" I checked him. "I only said that I would not meddle."

"Yes," he answered ; "but if you will not meddle, it is to be presumed that you do not disapprove. And from that it follows that, being a Christian, you will help."

"Not quite. I will not meddle, because the issues of these matters pass my little wit. It is possible that for you two to marry would be less mischievous than the reverse. But, to be candid, I am not sanguine. You will not make a brutal husband ; but you will fall short of the lady's ideal. And I scarcely think that she will be able to bring you up to it. There is a good deal to be changed, if you will permit me to say so. I say nothing of the other trifling complication ; for I agree that it is better not to marry one woman while you are in love with another."

"But, in that case, why not help me to escape from so doing ?"

"Because you need no help. You have mentioned

## GEORGE MARLOWE

simple means. I prefer such. But if there must be intrigue, why does Machiavelli appeal to the simple pedant ? ”

“ My dear sir, Machiavelli (the word does me too much honour) must have instruments. I have pointed out your fitness.”

“ I also am a puppet then. Very good. But my manipulator must at least pull the strings. If I go to your successor, what shall I say ? It is for you to supply the words ; I am a puppet, and have a puppet’s intellect. What shall I say to him ? ”

“ Say ? Say what you will ; that I am a confirmed drunkard, that I have three wives already, that I have been convicted of forgery. You need no prompting. Why mock me with pretended diffidence ? You have ingenuity enough, if you have but will.”

“ Very good, then ; but I make one stipulation. Shall you see Miss Selden again soon ? ”

“ If she stays here ; but it is hardly probable.”

“ That is a pity,” I said. “ But you must contrive that she stays ; for these are my conditions. See her half-a-dozen times more, and then repeat your request. If you do, I will grant it.”

“ Why these evasions ? You are not used to be lady-like. Do you think I shall change ? ”

“ I think you may have traduced yourself. The terms are final. Good-night.”

I got up to leave him ; but he rose protesting.

“ This is too bad. You know that she is almost sure to go ; and I, least of all, can prevent it. Better refuse outright than shuffle. Such tricks are not worthy of you.”

“ So, Machiavelli ? But I don’t mean to trick you. I know Miss Selden ; and I will do what I can to detain her. You must rest content with that.” And I left him content perforce.

I really had a plan, though I was not sure of its success. I needed help with some literary work ; and I believed Miss Selden was competent to render it. The work would last some months, and involve steady labour. On that I counted. Being, as I believed, a sensible woman, she would welcome

the prospect of hard work just then. The necessity of staying in the neighbourhood would repel her, if Marlowe's belief was correct ; but, on the other hand, she might feel it best to face the situation. If Marlowe was to marry her cousin, she might prefer at once to school herself into realising the fact. That she had come at all suggested some such intention. Moreover, I trusted a little to human weakness and the difficulty of explaining a sudden departure.

Not to lose this last advantage I called early next morning, and mentioned my object publicly, before I discussed the matter with her. That turned the scale. When we came to discuss it, I saw that she wavered ; but, finding no plausible reason for refusing, she yielded. She accepted the work, and was to begin at once. So Marlowe had the opportunity to fulfil my condition.

\* \* \* \* \*

In a few weeks, though she avoided him when she could, he had fulfilled it, and I saw him again. He came in one night, looking a little less self-possessed than usual. I saw that he had something to say. He ignored my salutation, and refused a chair, and finally began :

"You beast, you calculating demon, is this what you intended ?"

"Dear me ! this is new language. What have I done ?"

"Did you expressly design to make me expose myself for your amusement ? Was that the object of your stipulation ?"

"No," I said mildly ; "I thought, as I told you, that you had traduced yourself. I gave you time to find it out. It appears that you have done so. But you express yourself obscurely ; state your charge more plainly."

"What, for you to gloat over me ! You say that I have effrontery ; we have changed rôles, it seems."

"I will not press ; but, as you have made me your confidant, you may as well use me. You will feel better for it ; and you know well enough that I do not scoff."

"That's true," he admitted after a pause ; "but you will smile, being human. However, you mean well ; and I am too kind to torture you with curiosity. But, by — it is

## GEORGE MARLOWE

humiliating. Think of it, I have played the dunder-headed moralist. I have done the clumsy thing I scoffed at."

"Which?"

"Blurted out the truth; blundered like a bull, and broken all the china. The household is in tears, and I am cast out."

"Then I was right. You had traduced yourself. I do not wish to be brutal; but may I shake hands?"

"What the devil do you mean?"

"You must pardon me if I am grandfatherly; there is nearly twenty years between us. I have always suspected your dispassionate self-interest. Your standard was too high. I grant you a fair share of egoism, a fine self-confidence, some ingenuity, and not too much principle. But, my dear friend, this is not enough. You were bent like a boy (pardon my candour) on playing Machiavelli. It was too high an ambition. We are not robust enough in these days for greatness. One must be callous all through for that. I suspected that at the pinch you would discover disabling weaknesses; and I knew that love, if anything, would find them out. When you came to me first, it had not done so—it was too soon. So I gave you time, and stipulated, you remember, that you should see the lady. It is that which disturbs our little schemes."

"You knew that, did you?"

"I read the poets. You may remember the line:

*Fuggon dinanzi a lei superbia ed ira."*

"This is too brutal. The very words that have been in my head ever since it happened."

"And you were thinking that they applied to more than the two vices mentioned. That is the advantage of the passion. It illustrates the poets, and makes us a *corpus vile* for the exemplification of old saws. We have that consolation."

"A great one, truly. I need it. I was right in one respect, at least. *Actum est*. I am cast off, and shall never be taken back."

"Possibly; but don't despair too soon. There are other saws which you may verify yet."



## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

"Not I. It is finished. Oh, the vile clumsiness of it! To think I could do no better!"

"And yet, *mon ami*," I murmured, "you would do it again."

"Yes, I believe I should. That's what perplexes me. But why? Why? It's odd, hideously odd."

"And odder still," I supplemented, "you are not altogether sorry."

"You know that too? Well, it's true. I don't understand it, I loathe it, and yet I half glory in it. You understand. When I saw her day after day, I couldn't help it. I could not lie. It was not lying, I could not even hold my tongue. I had to tell the truth, and ruin all. And I am glad I did. The other was intolerable. . . . And that was what you know? Ah, but I have learnt something about you in return."

"As I remarked before," I answered, "I read the poets."

"And that's all? You are not generous. After the entertainment I have afforded you, it would be fair to give me honesty in return. It is you who are the cold-blooded schemer. You have deliberately led me on to make sport for you by my antics."

"You don't believe that," I said. "I am too old for confessions; but, since you ask for candour, you shall have it. I will own my motive. Though you were not cast for Machiavelli, still you promised to make a very pretty egoist. It may have been impertinent; but I regretted it. However, I perceived other possibilities; they might be stronger—I did not know, and was perplexed. When you related your sudden discovery, I perceived that light was coming. If the 'possibilities' were to win the day, you would find your pleasant scheme grow unpalatable. It seems that they have won; and, however brutal, I am glad of it."

"And so you, too, turn out to be the virtuous friend who rejoices in his friend's misfortunes because they are good for him. I had not thought it of you."

"Nor had I," I said. "One never fathoms the depths of one's own vileness."

F. R. EARP

## RELIGION AND METAPHYSICS<sup>1</sup>

THIS book is at once a criticism of popular theology, and a plea for the study of metaphysics. Religion, it is argued, depends essentially upon dogma, and no dogma can be proved except by metaphysics. The negative part of this thesis is exemplified by an examination of current arguments on immortality, free will, and the existence of God. The positive part—the proof of dogmas by metaphysical reasoning—is not undertaken; for only systematic students can understand such arguments, and the book is primarily addressed to those who are not systematic students. The conclusion is, that only metaphysicians have a right to a religion, because there is no such consensus as would warrant others in accepting any opinion on authority. For the present, it is admitted, this conclusion is tragical; but it is permissible to hope that, hereafter, metaphysics, like science, may become sufficiently certain to be taken on trust by those who cannot themselves test its reasonings. Whether, if that should ever occur, it will not be hopes rather than fears that will be extinguished, is a question which Dr. McTaggart rightly does not discuss, since evidently its decision would require the gift of prophecy.

Religion is defined as “an emotion resting on a conviction of a harmony between ourselves and the universe at large” (p. 3); metaphysics, as “the systematic study of the ultimate nature of reality”; and dogma as “any proposition which has metaphysical significance” (p. 1). *Religious* dogmas are those which affect a man’s religious position. Some such dogmas are required for a “conviction of

<sup>1</sup> *Some Dogmas of Religion.* By John McTaggart Ellis McTaggart. London: Edward Arnold, 1906.

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

harmony between ourselves and the universe at large"; it is held that the minimum dogma on which, at our present level of civilisation, a religion can be based, is that the universe is good on the whole (p. 11). The notion that morality is sufficient for religion is discussed and dismissed; on the Stoic theory that virtue suffices for happiness, Dr. McTaggart justly observes: "A virtue which was so intense that it rendered us indifferent to the sufferings of others might be held to have passed into its opposite" (p. 23). The notion that Christ's teaching is undogmatic is easily refuted. It is strangely difficult to read familiar words freshly. I confess I was staggered by the author's statement that "The Sermon on the Mount . . . contains dogma in almost every line. 'Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted' is not a moral precept at all. It commends nothing, it forbids nothing" (p. 25). But, surprising as this statement is, it seems undeniable. The narrower abusive sense which is now-a-days given to the word *dogma* by those who aim at broad-mindedness, is rejected—rightly, as it seems to me—as an innovation for which there is nothing to be said.

Before proceeding to more special questions, Dr. McTaggart considers, in his second chapter, some of the general arguments by which dogmas are advocated. The whole of this chapter is a master-piece of lucid and trenchant argument. It begins with the case of the man who believes he has an immediate conviction, say of the existence of God, and it points out that this can be no ground for any one else's belief. As for the analogy of the blind man and the man who has sight, it may be met by the analogy of the physician and the man who sees snakes; either analogy is equally applicable. The *argumentum ad horrendum* ("if this were not true the universe would be unbelievably bad") leads up to the argument that the truth of a doctrine is to be judged by its consequences, which, as is justly observed, itself has immoral consequences, and is therefore condemned by its own test. "The moral evil of the argument from consequences seems to me to be that it makes us imperious in the wrong place, where our imperiousness is arrogance, and, by an inevitable consequence, makes us humble in the wrong place, where our

## RELIGION AND METAPHYSICS

humility is mean and servile" (p. 66). For when something we should naturally think bad is undeniably real, we are led by the argument to suppose that after all it cannot be bad. Dr. McTaggart's power of summing up an argument in an illustration is delightful. After discussing the contention that we ought to have faith because of the fallibility of our merely human powers, he says: "If I have only taken a hasty view by twilight of my neighbour's garden, it would be rash of me to place much trust in my failure to see any lilies in it. But it would be even more rash if I proceeded from the untrustworthiness of my negative conclusion to a confident assertion that there *were* lilies in it, and that there were exactly seventeen of them" (p. 68).

The next chapter, on immortality, is rather more metaphysical than most of the book. It aims at showing that there is no reason to believe in a dependence of mind on body; and the argument used is the idealistic one, that mind is more real than body. Chapter IV, on human pre-existence, points out, what is too often overlooked, that any argument for our existence throughout the future must be an argument also for our existence throughout the past. To most people, this constitutes a difficulty; but to Dr. McTaggart, as to Wordsworth, it is a confirmation. He admits that it involves the loss of memory at death, but he endeavours, by ingenious, though (to me) unconvincing arguments, to show that this hardly lessens the value of immortality. He holds that the fact of love or friendship at first sight is best accounted for as the result of love or friendship in a previous existence. "The significance of this fact has been, I think, very much underrated . . . . It is rarely that the writings of a philosopher or a theologian find anything in a young man's love for his sweetheart except a mixture of sexual desire and folly, or anything in a young man's love for his comrade except folly pure and simple" (p. 121).<sup>1</sup> I find it difficult to believe that the fact has any such importance as is here suggested. It would be interesting to make a statistical inquiry into cases of love at first sight, with a view to discovering how often

<sup>1</sup> Hegel and the writer of the First Epistle of St. John are mentioned as honourable exceptions.

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

it is determined by outward beauty, and how often by congeniality of character. For, on Dr. McTaggart's view, character should be at least as important as looks in bringing it about ; yet I doubt if this would be found to be the case.

Another argument for pre-existence which is urged is, that people seem sometimes to possess by nature qualities which others only acquire by experience, and that it is natural to suppose such qualities acquired by experience in a past life. An objection which immediately occurs to one is that such qualities are not perceptible in babies. "How provokingly close are those new-born babes", as Shelley remarked on Magdalen Bridge. It is surely more natural to suppose that some people learn by experience more quickly than others, than to suppose that they bring with them a wisdom which they conceal or forget until a suitable age. Another objection, which Dr. McTaggart discusses at some length, is, that people inherit their characters from their parents, which seems incompatible with their bringing them from elsewhere. This argument is met by an analogy. People's hats generally fit their heads, though they were made with no regard to those special heads, but selected, after they were made, as suitable to those heads. So people may have a natural affinity for parents like themselves. It does not do to press analogies ; and this one certainly will not bear pressing. A man selects a hat which is shaped like his head, because that is the most comfortable sort. But a man who is selfish and tyrannical should, by the same rule, choose parents who are unselfish and gentle, and kind people ought to be much more prolific than unkind ones. We must suppose, in fact, if people have previously existed, that they are led by some mechanical necessity to be born of parents like themselves ; for we cannot suppose that they would often come to this by choice.

There is next a chapter on free will, which produces on my mind the effect which determinist arguments always do produce : the whole thing seems irrefutable, and I cannot discover any ground for wanting more ; and yet, somehow, there seems to be a problem still unsolved. I cannot state the problem ; I can only say that I am not satisfied that there is no problem. The main difficulty, of course,

## RELIGION AND METAPHYSICS

concerns responsibility. Dr. McTaggart regards this as consisting in the fact that punishment and remorse may lead to amendment. I am not satisfied that this is what responsibility means ; but I do not know what else it can mean.

An omnipotent God, Dr. McTaggart contends, cannot be personal and cannot be good. His argument on personality is rather difficult, and may, I think, be doubted. On goodness, the argument is familiar. But I think Dr. McTaggart asks too much of omnipotence when he demands that it shall be able to infringe the law of contradiction. There is a very prevalent use of the word "omnipotence," in which it means only absolute power as to what things shall exist, without power over the laws of logic or arithmetic. Such a distinction is incompatible with Dr. McTaggart's logic ; but without it there is, as it seems to me, an unnecessary departure from common-sense. It would not usually be held a limitation in omnipotence to be unable to decree that something should both exist and not exist at the same time. This weakens the effect of his argument, and leaves it doubtful how far it would be valid with the more modest view of omnipotence.

A God who created the world, Dr. McTaggart holds, could not, even if he were not strictly omnipotent, be absolved of the guilt of having created evil. His argument on the point appears to me not conclusive ; but it would require a treatise on logic and metaphysics to examine the matter fully. A God who found things already existing, and stands to the world in the relation of a director or schoolmaster, is held to be more possible ; it is even admitted (rather hastily, as it seems to me) that his existence would be rendered probable by the argument from design, if the reality of matter were admitted.<sup>1</sup> But there is reason to deny the reality of matter ; and, even if the argument from design is allowed, the world is too full of evil to allow the inference that the author of the design must be good.

<sup>1</sup> It is remarkable that, on p. 3, the existence of matter is given as an instance of a dogma having no religious significance, while on p. 245 it is contended that the existence of matter would make the existence of a directing person probable.

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

Dr. McTaggart's reason for holding that the order in the universe does not imply a designer, if all reality is (as he believes) a society of spirits, is that, in that case, the order would be due to the harmony which would be an essential element in the nature of the universe. Allowing this, it seems to me that many other explanations, suitable to other views of the universe, can be suggested to account for its orderliness. And, in any case, there would appear to be a fallacy, namely this: the argument from design assumes it as antecedently unlikely that the universe should have been orderly, on the ground that we can imagine more disorderly universes than orderly ones. Now the numbers of both are infinite and (I think) equal; and there is no method of estimating the antecedent probability. Arguments from probability, in general questions, assume always, it would seem, a far greater knowledge on questions of probability than we in fact possess.

Dr. McTaggart's conclusion as to the existence of God—a conclusion which is only strengthened if the above criticism is valid—is that, while a God who is good and created the universe is impossible, “when the non-omnipotent God is also taken as non-creative, there seems to me . . . only one reason why we should not believe in his existence—namely, that there is no reason why we should believe in it” (p. 260). He gives reasons for regarding this conclusion as not a depressing one. Theism, he says, is not an adequate basis for optimism, since evil exists, and we therefore cannot know that any evil is too bad to be permitted. I think his argument as to the effect on happiness of believing or disbelieving in the existence of God is vitiated by attributing too much logicity to the average man. Most people will accept fallacious optimistic deductions which have long been generally regarded as valid; but they will be less ready to accept such new fallacies as might be required to extract optimism out of a different creed. I cannot but think also that the author underestimates the loss incurred in losing the love of God. By love, he says, he means something quite different from reverence and admiration and gratitude; and, though the love of God must go, others remain to be loved (pp. 289-290). This

## RELIGION AND METAPHYSICS

view of the emotions is surely too atomic. A love which is mingled with reverence and admiration and gratitude, which has an object that is unchanging and sinless and always strong enough to help, is something different from any love which is possible towards a human being. Love of God may seldom be as vivid as love of human beings ; but it is sustaining as no other love can be. Dr. McTaggart appears to value love of bad people as much as love of good people (p. 73, note) ; and this perhaps makes him not realise the restfulness of love of God to those who suffer from the imperfections of human beings.

The general conclusion arrived at is acknowledged to be mainly negative. Whatever criticisms have been suggested above (and none of these criticisms are very vital) are only such as would make this conclusion even more complete. Dr. McTaggart holds that the only way to reach positive conclusions is by metaphysics, though negative conclusions are possible without a positive metaphysical theory. I am not convinced that even negative conclusions are possible. That the reality of evil is incompatible with the omnipotence and goodness of God, for example, is certainly a view for which there is much to be said. But unless omnipotence is taken, as it is in this book, to involve power to infringe the laws of logic—*e.g.* to make a thing exist and not exist at the same time—I doubt whether the incompatibility can be strictly proved. It may always be possible that the evil is an essential ingredient in goods of such value as to make it better that they and the evil should both exist than that neither should. Conversely, the existence of good things does not prove that the world is not the worst possible ; it may be that the good things only exist in order to afford opportunity for great evils in which they are essential elements. And, whether these doubts can be resolved by positive metaphysics—whether the general nature of the universe as a whole is in any way accessible to human knowledge—is a question upon which it is very difficult for many philosophers to feel the confidence which is felt by those who in the main follow in the footsteps of Hegel.

The final statement of the practical outcome is as good as it could be. Since “no man is justified in a religious



## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

attitude except as a result of metaphysical study," it follows that "whether any religion is true or not, most people have no right to accept any religion as true" (pp. 292-3). "The result may be evil; but that is unfortunately no ground for denying its truth. It is no more evil than cancer, famine, or madness; and these are all real" (*ib.*). In spite of some reasons for regarding the result as rather less bad than it appears at first sight, "we are here confronted with one of the great tragedies of life" (p. 297). But "is knowledge so easy to get that the highest and deepest of knowledge is likely to be had for the asking?" The principle that the kingdom of heaven is hidden from the wise and prudent and revealed unto babes "is sure to be popular, for it enables a man to believe that he is showing his meekness and humility by the confident assertion of propositions which he will not investigate and cannot prove" (p. 298). In contrast with this principle of indolence, the discussion ends with the noble words of Spinoza: "Omnia praeclara tam difficilia quam rara sunt."

The book as a whole is so excellent, both in matter and in tone, that it is difficult to find appropriate words of praise. There is great need of popular exposition, on the part of philosophers, of such parts of their philosophy as can be read with interest and understanding by the non-philosophical; and Dr. McTaggart has made a contribution to clear and unbiassed thinking which cannot but be valuable to every reader.

B. RUSSELL

## A COBDENITE<sup>1</sup>

WITH the exception of the late Lord Farrer, no conspicuous person in the Civil Service of England in the second half of last century understood Cobdenism so well as Sir Louis Mallet; and certainly no one combined

<sup>1</sup> *Sir Louis Mallet: A record of Public Service and Political Ideas.* By Bernard Mallet. London: Nisbet & Co., 1905.

## A COBDENITE

more happily the gift of understanding with the gift of exposition. In him something of the publicist's missionary zeal was combined with the tact and grace of a diplomatist; and probably his quiet life at the Board of Trade and the India Office gave him greater opportunities for influencing the minds of statesmen and the course of public policy than any other career he could have chosen. It was his love of public economy, and his hatred of militarism and aggressive imperialism in all their forms and disguises, that made him a genuine Cobdenite, and gave him a full share of that strong social sentiment which distinguished and inspired the founder of the Manchester School. Here is what he said about the Imperialists who mistake their creed for patriotism:—

“It seems to me that the kind of patriotism which prompts all the utterances of those who habitually sneer at Cobden and what they call the ‘peace-at-any-price men’ is the outcome of a very low national ideal, of a vulgar conception of national greatness, of the most complete ignorance of the laws on which human societies are built up, of a general coarseness of fibre, and of a feeble and barren imagination.”

In the language of his son and biographer, the Free Trade or Cobdenic School, looking as they did for the best means of raising and invigorating the poor, were quite unlike the narrow Free Traders of our own day, who think that free exchange covers a multitude of national sins. Cobden and his friends regarded property as sacred, only because, and in so far as, it is the product of labour; and they condemned every violation of the rights of property and labour, whether it took the form of protection tariffs and the abuse of indirect taxation, or of monopolistic land laws, as “causes of the greatest part of the disorders and sufferings which have desolated humanity, and of the unnecessary and unnatural inequalities in the conditions of men.”

The strength of a political character is tested by adversity; when wrong triumphs, when prudence and

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

justice are overthrown and insulted by passion, prejudice, and folly. Mallet was thirty-one when the Crimean war began ; but he kept his head, and, in the following year, he described its authors and apologists as men who forgot, not only their own people, but truth, justice, and humanity. To some foolish person who applied the usual nickname to Mallet, the late Lord Northbrook replied :—

“ As to being a *doctrinaire*, doubtless he thoroughly believed in the conclusions at which he had arrived after long study on some subjects ; and why should he not ? ”

The only public proof he ever gave of narrowness was in the intolerance of his opposition to Home Rule. But it is not fair to judge a man by the conservatism of his declining years. Few who have led a life of routine display at the end much accessibility to new ideas, or even to new projects for applying old principles. If he could have lived a little longer, Mallet would have found out the real meaning of the Unionist compact against self-government, would have seen with chagrin and remorse how it insensibly developed into an attack upon all the causes of which he had been so vigilant, patient, and faithful a champion.

The chapters on India are to my mind the least satisfactory part of this book. They convey the impression that there is a vast amount of interesting material in Mr. Mallet's possession ; but, while they awaken a legitimate curiosity, they do little to satisfy it. Sixty or seventy pages are a small space to allot to so vast a subject as modern India ; but the reader might fairly hope to get a clear conception of the reforms which this far-sighted administrator desired. This much we learn. He saw that the chief danger to British rule in India arises, not from without, but from within. It is not Russia, but poverty ; not the Russian bureaucracy, but the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy ; not the Russian army, but the Anglo-Indian army ; not the frontier tribes, but the sullen discontent of millions upon millions of natives who connect, or may come to connect, their misery with the existence of British rule. Mallet's

## A COBDENITE

principal complaints against Indian finance seem to have been concerned with the Land Revenue, the customs, and the expenditure on public works. Upon all these heads one would like to know more ; and surely more might have been told with advantage and without indiscretion. We require some definite description of the system as he found it, of the system as he left it, and of the changes which he proposed but was unable to carry out. If it be true that the stupendous poverty of agricultural India would yield to financial treatment, and that, as Egypt has been revived, so India might be revived, then how necessary it is that all the best information, and all the most fruitful ideas, that can be found in desks and pigeon-holes, should be extracted and made accessible.

FRANCIS W. HIRST

---

*\* \* \* It is desirable that no contributions should be sent without previous communication with the Editor, who cannot undertake to return unsolicited MSS.*

*Publishers are requested not to send books for review. The Editor will venture to apply for copies of such works as it is desired to notice.*

# THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

—  
APRIL, 1906  
—

## CONTENTS

	PAGE
NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS . . . .	I
TRADE UNIONS AND THE LAW	
PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P.	11
THE TAXATION OF MONOPOLIES	
J. A. HOBSON	20
ELECTORAL ABUSES . . . . W. J. FISHER	34
FLAWS IN ELEMENTARY EDUCATION	
CYRIL JACKSON	45
<i>(Formerly Chief Inspector to the Board of Education)</i>	
WOMAN SUFFRAGE	
THE LATE G. J. HOLYOAKE	61
THE FLORENTINE MOVEMENT	
AELFRIDA TILLYARD	71
A LABOUR COLLEGE . . . E. BRUCE FORREST	80
GEORGE MARLOWE . . . . F. R. EARP	91
REVIEWS OF BOOKS:	
RELIGION AND METAPHYSICS	
HON. BERTRAND RUSSELL	109
A COBDENITE . . . . FRANCIS W. HIRST	116

---

### *Published by*

T. FISHER UNWIN, 1 Adelphi Terrace, Strand, London.

America: THE INTERNATIONAL NEWS COMPANY, 83 and 85 Duane Street, New York.

Toronto: THE TORONTO NEWS COMPANY. Montreal: THE MONTREAL NEWS COMPANY.

France: GALIGNANI'S LIBRARY. Germany: F. L. HERBIG, Leipzig.

# M E R C U R E DE FRANCE

26, rue de Condé, Paris

**Littérature, Poésie, Théâtre, Musique, Peinture,  
Sculpture, Philosophie, Histoire, Sociologie, Sciences,  
Voyages, Bibliophilie, Sciences occultes,  
Critique, Littérature étrangère, Revue de la Quinzaine**

Le *Mercur de France* est dans sa dix-septième année. Il paraît le 1<sup>er</sup> et le 15 de chaque mois et forme tous les ans 6 volumes.

Le *Mercur de France* occupe dans la presse française une place unique : il participe de la revue et du journal.

Presque exclusivement littéraire au début, il a considérablement élargi son domaine. Pour juger de sa diversité, il suffit de parcourir quelques-uns de ses sommaires et la liste des 50 chroniques que, sous le titre de *Revue de la Quinzaine*, il publie selon un roulement méthodique. Cette *Revue de la Quinzaine* s'alimente à l'étranger autant qu'en France ; elle offre un très grand nombre de documents et constitue une sorte d'encyclopédie au jour le jour du mouvement universel des idées.

Il n'est peut-être pas indifférent de signaler qu'il est celui des grands périodiques français qui coûte le moins cher, puisque le prix de son abonnement excède à peine celui des journaux à un sou.

## Vente au numéro et abonnement

*Les abonnements partent du premier des mois de janvier, avril, juillet et octobre*

### France

LE NUMÉRO : 1 fr. 25

UN AN.....	25 fr.
SIX MOIS.....	14 »
TROIS MOIS.....	8 »

### Étranger

LE NUMÉRO : 1 fr. 50

UN AN.....	30 fr.
SIX MOIS.....	17 »
TROIS MOIS.....	10 »

**ABONNEMENT DE TROIS ANS, avec prime équivalant au remboursement de l'abonnement.**

**France : 65 fr.**

**Étranger : 80 fr.**

La prime consiste : 1<sup>re</sup> en une réduction du prix de l'abonnement ; 2<sup>e</sup> en la faculté d'acheter chaque année 20 volumes des éditions du *Mercur de France* à 3 fr. 50, parus ou à paraître, aux prix absolument nets suivants (emballage et port compris) :

**France : 2 fr. 25**

**Étranger : 2 fr. 50**

Envoi franco, sur demande, d'un spécimen de la revue et du catalogue complet des Editions *Mercur de France*.



# Fry's Pure Concentrated Cocoa

*In 6d. Packets.*

$\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $\frac{1}{2}$ , and 1lb. Tins.

"It deserves all the praise it has received from the Leaders of the Profession."—MEDICAL MAGAZINE.

## LA REVUE

(ancienne "REVUE DES REVUES")

la plus répandue et la plus importante parmi les grandes revues françaises et étrangères, nouvelle série agrandie sur papier de luxe, articles rigoureusement inédits de premier ordre, collaborateurs les plus illustres, analyse des revues les plus importantes du monde entier, etc., etc., paraît le 1<sup>er</sup> et le 15 de chaque mois.

Paris et la France, 24 fr. par an : 14 fr. pour 6 mois.  
Etranger, 28 fr. — 16 fr. —

Les nouveaux abonnés pour 1904 recevront gratuitement 3 magnifiques gravures choisies parmi les chefs-d'œuvre du Musée du Louvre, sur papier de Chine.

*On s'abonne soit du 1<sup>er</sup> janvier ou du 1<sup>er</sup> de chaque mois.  
Spécimen gratuit sur demande.*

Paris, 12, Avenue de l'Opéra

Directeur : Jean Finot.

### ST. JAMES'S ELECTRIC BATHS

Removed to 1, York St.,  
St. James's Square.  
Mrs. Wiseman.

*See page VI for a list of  
the late*

GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE'S  
MOST IMPORTANT BOOKS

DELICIOUS FOR BREAKFAST  
& AFTER DINNER.

**RED  
WHITE  
& BLUE  
COFFEE.**

In making, use less quantity, it being  
much stronger than ordinary COFFEE.

VOL. IX. NO. 32

MAY 1906

# THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

## CONTENTS

### NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

#### THE SECULAR SOLUTION

JOHN M. ROBERTSON, M.P.

#### THE NEW PARLIAMENT

G. F. G. MASTERMAN, M.P.

#### THE ELBERFELD SYSTEM IN ENGLAND

A. HOLDEN BYLES

#### DARWIN AND MENDEL

L. DONCASTER

#### THE SHADOW AND THE SUB- STANCE

(TWO FRENCH PLAYS)

#### KAFFIRS AND CONSOLS

F. W. HIRST

#### THE DESERT

HILAIRE BELLOO M.P.

#### ARCHBISHOP TEMPLE

REV. HASTINGS RASHDALL

#### THE POETRY OF BLAKE

G. L. STRACHEY

#### OTHER REVIEWS

LONDON PUBLISHED BY  
T. FISHER UNWIN

TWO SHILLINGS AND SIXPENCE NET



# NOTABLE NEW BOOKS

## **A LITERARY HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE**

Vol. II. From the Renaissance to the Civil War. I. By J. J. JUSSERAND.  
Demy 8vo, 12s. 6d. net.

## **THE 'POPE' OF HOLLAND HOUSE**

Edited by Lady SEYMOUR. With a Biographical Introduction and Supplementary Chapter by W. P. COURTNEY. Illustrated. Demy 8vo, 10s. 6d. net.

## **HAECKEL: HIS LIFE AND WORK**

By WILHELM BÖLSCHÉ. With an Introduction and a Supplementary Chapter by the Translator, JOSEPH McCABE. With a Coloured Frontispiece and Twelve other Illustrations. Demy 8vo, 15s. net.

## **RECREATIONS OF A NATURALIST**

By J. E. HARTING, Author of *Handbook of British Birds*, *Extinct British Animals*, *Rambles in Search of Shells*, &c. With numerous Illustrations. Demy 8vo, 15s. net.

## **SPORT AND TRAVEL**

Abyssinia and British East Africa. By Lord HINDLIFF, F.R.G.S., F.Z.S. With Maps and more than Seventy Illustrations. Demy 8vo, 21s. net.

## **ARISTOTLE'S THEORY OF CONDUCT**

By THOMAS MARSHALL, M.A. 21s. net. A lucid exposition of Aristotle's Ethics. With Introduction, Notes, and a paraphrase of the greater part of the original text.

## **DISESTABLISHMENT IN FRANCE**

By PAUL SABATIER. With Portraits of the Author and the Abbé Loisy. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d. net.

## **THE WELSH PEOPLE**

Chapters in their Origin, History, Laws, Language, and Literature. By DAVID BRYNMOR JONES, M.P., and JOHN RHYS. Cheap Edition. Large Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

## **THE GOVERNANCE OF ENGLAND**

By SIDNEY LOW, M.A. Cheap Edition. 3s. 6d. net.

"A most lucid survey of modern constitutional history."—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

## **THE CONTINENTAL OUTCAST**

Land Colonies and Poor Law Relief. By the Rev. W. CARLILE and VICTOR W. CARLILE. Illustrated. Cloth, 2s. net; paper cover, 1s. net.

---

Published by

T. FISHER UNWIN, 1 Adelphi Terrace, London.

# THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

MAY, 1906

## CONTENTS

	PAGE
NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS . . .	122
THE SECULAR SOLUTION	
JOHN M. ROBERTSON, M.P.	133
THE NEW PARLIAMENT	
C. F. G. MASTERMAN, M.P.	144
THE ELBERFELD SYSTEM IN ENGLAND	
A. HOLDEN BYLES	159
DARWIN AND MENDEL . . .	L. DONCASTER 174
THE SHADOW AND THE SUBSTANCE	
(TWO FRENCH PLAYS)	184
KAFFIRS AND CONSOLS . . .	F. W. HIRST 193
THE DESERT . . .	HILAIRE BELLOC, M.P. 200
ARCHBISHOP TEMPLE	
REV. HASTINGS RASHDALL	206
THE POETRY OF BLAKE . . .	G. L. STRACHEY 215
OTHER REVIEWS:	
ALGERIA SEEN BY THE EYE OF FAITH . . .	N. WEDD 227
SENTIMENTALIST OR TIGER? . . .	G. M. TREVELYAN 234

---

*Published by*

T. FISHER UNWIN, 1 Adelphi Terrace, Strand, London.

America: THE INTERNATIONAL NEWS COMPANY, 83 and 85 Duane Street, New York.

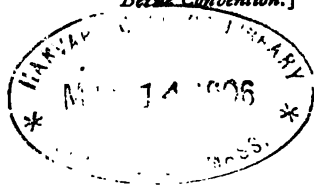
Toronto: THE TORONTO NEWS COMPANY. Montreal: THE MONTREAL NEWS COMPANY.

France: GALIGNANI'S LIBRARY. Germany: F. L. HERBIG, Leipzig.

No. 32.—VOL. IX.

121

K



# THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

## NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

**T**HE Education Bill of 1906 will, we think, be regarded, when the strong feelings of the moment have subsided, as a courageous and fair-minded attempt to settle the difficult problem of religious education. To have produced a solution which would have satisfied all parties would have passed the wit of man. It is good evidence of a desire to secure a just and lasting settlement to have produced a Bill which does not satisfy any party completely. The starting-point of the Bill may be said to be the recognition of a fundamental distinction between the attitude of the State towards secular instruction and its attitude towards religious instruction. In the case of secular instruction, the State exercises compulsion; in the case of religious instruction, it offers facilities. These facilities will differ in character, according to whether the religious instruction is instruction under the Cowper-Temple clause, or instruction in accordance with the tenets of a particular denomination. But it is definitely laid down that all compulsion, whether on the teacher to teach, or on the parent to send his child to be taught, is limited to secular instruction.

“The parent of a child attending a public elementary school shall not be under any obligation to cause the child to attend at the school-house, except

## NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

during the times allotted in the time table exclusively to secular instruction.

“A teacher employed in a public elementary school shall not be required as part of his duties as teacher to give any religious instruction, and shall not be required as a condition of his appointment to subscribe to any religious creed, or to attend or abstain from attending any Sunday school or place of religious worship.”

The first of these clauses is only a natural development of the “conscience clause” set up by the Act of 1870; but it places that principle on a firmer basis, and makes it easier for parents to avail themselves of it. The provision relieving teachers altogether from the duty of giving religious instruction is indispensable, if teachers are to be exempted from religious tests in fact as well as in name.

The main disputes will no doubt centre round the facilities proposed for special religious instruction. These are to be of two kinds. The first, called “ordinary facilities,” depend on the ownership of the building. The managers of any transferred voluntary school may reserve the right to use the building on two mornings weekly for special religious instruction, to be given by some person other than the school teachers. In addition to this, “extended facilities” may be given by consent of the local authority, if the parents of four-fifths of the children attending any school desire them, and if other schools are available for the dissentient minority. And, in these “extended facilities” cases, the special religious instruction may be given by the school teachers. We cannot but think that these provisions, and in particular the provision for extended facilities, will ultimately be recognised by the advocates of denominational teaching as giving them a substantial part of what they ask for. The more far-sighted among them have already begun to see that any claim to give religious teaching to children

must be based, not on rights of property in a building, but on the wishes of the parents. It has been urged that the extended facilities will be nugatory, because there will be no guarantee that the teacher will be qualified to give the religious instruction. But this difficulty is not likely to be insuperable in practice. Teachers belonging to a particular denomination will naturally apply for and receive appointments in schools in which the special teaching of that denomination is given. The facilities offered by the Bill for special religious instruction are indeed objected to, by the advocates of undenominational teaching, on the ground that they go too far ; as strongly as by the advocates of denominational teaching, on the ground that they do not go far enough. Both parties would do well to consider the arguments brought forward by Mr. J. M. Robertson in the article which we publish in this number. The reasons in favour of excluding religious instruction altogether from the schools are, from a logical point of view, strong. We should ourselves regret such a result. But all who take part in this controversy should realise that the nation may be forced to it, and that, if it comes, it will come through the action of the religious bodies, and not through that of the Liberal Government.

The clauses which deal with religious instruction have naturally overshadowed the rest of the Bill in the notice of the public. But it would be a mistake to suppose that they constitute the whole of it. **The Needs of the Children** The question of the proper unit for local administration receives attention. Experience has shown that an area smaller than that of the county is in some cases needed, in order to bring the elementary schools into sufficiently close touch with local needs and interests ; and the Bill contains permissive powers of delegation which will enable this to be secured. More important, however, than any such administrative changes, is the wider conception of the meaning of education, of which the Bill gives evidence. We have more than once urged in these columns that education means, not merely the teaching of a certain

## NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

number of subjects in school hours, but the supervision as a whole of the mental and physical welfare of the rising generation. We welcome the Bill as an advance in this direction. It brings vacation schools as means of recreation within the sphere of operations of local education authorities. It further empowers these bodies to spend money on attending to the health and physical condition of children educated in elementary schools. The power thus conferred should, and no doubt soon will be, converted into an obligation, either by an amendment of the Bill or by administrative action. An intelligent observer might think it strange that, after thirty-five years of public education, it should still remain necessary to give this permission, and even more strange that, when the step forward is at last taken, it should remain almost unnoticed in the dust of religious controversy. He might further venture to prophesy that, when the disputes now raging have been forgotten or have changed their form, this provision will be remembered as a great landmark in the task of applying organised common-sense to the service of the nation.

Whilst the news from Natal is still disquieting, there is good reason to hope that the colony may be spared the disasters of a civil war. But the incident, grave as it is in itself, is still graver as suggesting a doubt of the policy pursued by the Imperial authorities on the Native Question. There is much to be said for placing the entire responsibility on the Ministers of a self-governing colony, with the full understanding that the colony must bear the consequences of its own mistakes. There is something to be said, especially in the case of a colony with a small white population, for the entire reservation of Native affairs (including taxation) to the Home Government. But the compromise, which, in fact, allows the Colonial Ministers to govern the natives until trouble sets in, and then leaves the Home Government to settle the dispute with Imperial troops, is thoroughly bad. It makes the colonists reckless of provoking the natives, and yet inclined to regard any action by the Colonial Office as an

**The Natal  
Rising**

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

unwarrantable interference with colonial independence. All the grievance of which we heard so much a month ago resolves itself into the simple fact, that the Home Government, being by statute responsible for the treatment of the Natal natives, required information before it allowed a dozen natives, condemned by a court-martial, to be punished in a way which could never be recalled if the irregular tribunal which pronounced the extreme sentence should have been proved to have acted incorrectly. The assertion that such an act of bare justice was calculated to have a disturbing effect upon the natives, is ridiculous. Even barbarians are impressed by a manifestation of justice, especially when it is made by a power which they know to be stronger than themselves. It is one of the profoundest of mistakes to suppose that a high-spirited race like the Zulus can be governed by mere severity. They must, of course, be taught to realise the superiority of their rulers. But they are quite shrewd enough (at least their leaders are quite shrewd enough) to realise that sudden severity is often the evidence, not of strength, but of panic. Above all things, we doubt the wisdom, as well as the morality, of employing one native tribe to chastise another. *Divide et impera* is a maxim unworthy of civilised statesmanship.

It would be really interesting to know how far, if at all, the unrest in Natal is due to the labour difficulty in the Transvaal. Such a crude form of impost as

**The Transvaal** a poll-tax requires special justification ; and it may be that the politicians of Natal, when they imposed it, honestly thought that they were contributing to the solution of a great economic problem. If so, they were ill-advised. The labour problem in the Transvaal will settle itself with the aid of self-government. It is manifestly impossible for the present artificial condition of the Chinese to be maintained in perpetuity ; and we are advised from well-informed sources that "free Chinamen" are not within the sphere of practical politics. Thus, while we condemn the illegal treatment of the Chinese, we consider Mr. Byles' motion on the subject of Lord Milner a mis-

## NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

taken move, as tending to embarrass the Government, to distort the South African perspective, and to defeat its own object. Lord Milner did far worse things in South Africa than sanctioning the flogging of a few Chinese. His failure as a statesman was admitted, even by his friends. Though his Party was in power when he resigned office, not a single public demonstration was made in his favour. He practically disappeared from politics ; and his recent attempts to pose as the critic of the Government policy have been lamentable failures. But Mr. Byles' attack has aroused, as such attacks always do, a new sympathy for its victim ; and attempts are now being made, a little forced, it is true, to revive something of an extinct hero-worship. If they succeed, Mr. Byles will have himself to thank.

We are heartily glad that the Government has given way over the "Taff Vale" clause. In spite of the specious arguments brought forward in its favour, the "Taff Vale" decision was (no doubt unconsciously) a party move, made in the interests of Capital by minds of a conservative order. We wonder (or rather, we do not wonder) what the decision would have been, had the action been brought to attach the funds of the Tariff Reform League for slander spoken by its delegates, or those of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for irregularities committed by too enthusiastic parsons. And yet, surely, the Church of England is as much a corporation as is a Trade Union. The fact is, that we all in practice recognise the difference between mere association and incorporation ; and the only question is as to where the line should be drawn.

Writing before the Budget has appeared, it is possible, without possessing the gift of prophecy, to predict that Mr. Asquith's statement will not be completely satisfactory to taxpayers who expected that a change of Government would mean speedy and substantial reductions of the burdensome war taxation.

**The Budget and  
the Surplus**



## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

The most reassuring features will be the realised surplus, and the fact that seven or eight millions of debt have been wiped out in the financial year that ended on March 31st. Mr. Asquith will be able, owing to the flourishing state of trade, to look forward to a surplus of between two and three millions, which might be considerably increased by a simple revision of the Death Duties, of Liquor Licences, and of the Motor Car Duties, which last certainly ought to be increased for the benefit of the road authorities. But he will probably wait until next year before he enters upon any elaborate reconstruction of our financial system. So far as remissions go, he is probably wavering between coal and tea. We think the latter ought certainly to be preferred, on the ground that a reduction of the tea duty will bring a welcome and much-needed relief to the weekly budget of every poor family in the United Kingdom.

The Indian Budget and the Indian debate, of which full reports have now reached England, seem to suggest that the military party has seized the purse and refuses to relinquish its hold. Reductions of taxation have practically come to an end ; and the surplus is applied to the building of new forts and new barracks against external enemies, and to the enlargement of the police force to suppress domestic discontent. A writer in *The Speaker*, showed the other day, that the effect of the salt tax is to treble or quadruple the price of salt in India, and that this cruel and oppressive impost is supposed, by men who have studied the matter, to be largely responsible for the ravages of the plague in the poorer parts of India. Is it not worth considering whether the abolition of the salt tax would not contribute a good deal more to the security of English rule in India than the battalions which the produce of that tax is capable of supporting ? The idea that the security of India still depends upon constantly increasing the Indian Army, is indeed grotesque when we reflect what has happened to Russia. But, quite apart from that, the history of military expenditure in India indicates clearly that a large army, far from being an insurance, is an

## NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

actual peril. A large army provides a surplus of men for employment in frontier wars and other ambitious undertakings, upon which the resources of the Indian taxpayer have in the past been so mercilessly frittered away. We may illustrate this from the figures that show the established strength of British troops in India during the last half century. They are taken from appendices to various Reports, and from an answer recently given by the Secretary of War to a question put by Dr. Macnamara. In 1885, we had brought the figures of our Indian Army establishment down from 83,000 (where they stood in 1860, after the mutiny) to 59,000. In 1885 came the Penjdeh scare, under the influence of which the despatch of August 1895 was written, Lord Randolph Churchill being at the Indian Office. The arguments of that despatch were based on "the north-west peril"; and the despatch was a sequel to a despatch of the previous month, embodying recommendations for the construction of defensive works, and the extension of roads and railways on the north-west frontier. The increase of troops asked for by the despatch was granted; but mark what followed. Before the end of the year, Upper Burmah was annexed. By the year 1896, the European troops seem to have been raised from 73,000 to 78,000; and in 1897-8, under Lord Elgin, came the Terah Expedition, when the whole Indian army was mobilised, nominally to put down some brutal risings, really (as many people believed) in the hope of a big advance across the Afghan frontier. During the Boer war, the numbers of European troops in India were reduced from 78,000 to 66,581 in 1900, and to 63,023 in 1901. In 1902, the number given is 63,958. Here was a great opportunity for Russia, for China, for Afghanistan, for Persia, or for any other neighbouring Power or frontier tribe which has done duty in the categories of the Indian Peril. As a matter of fact, there were no frontier difficulties in these years; and India gave us not the slightest anxiety, because the manufacturers of military bogies were otherwise engaged, and the contractors were working full time. After the Boer war, the strength of the Indian army was raised to over 75,000; and the Indian Government found

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

it possible, and of course necessary and expedient, to send out an armed mission—the so-called “Peace Mission”—into Tibet. At present, the British army in India numbers 78,000 men ; so that there is every reason, unless history fails to repeat itself, to expect trouble. If any one wants to know what the sentiments of the present Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief are like, let him read the full reports of the debate on the Indian Budget.

The political situation in France is not without piquancy. A month or two ago, the late Government felt itself obliged to prosecute certain anti-militarist “demonstrators” who had signed a manifesto addressed to the new conscripts, reminding them that their service in the army did not relieve them of their duties as citizens, and suggesting that, if called upon to take part in the suppression of strikes, they ought to reflect whether they were bound to obey the summons. As no strike was then pending or anticipated, this offence, if offence it was, was a pure *délit d'opinion*. The Government showed no animus in the matter ; and it was generally believed that an expression of regret would have resulted in an acquittal, or, at most, in a nominal sentence. The accused, however, refused to take this course ; and fairly heavy sentences, amounting, in some cases, to a year's imprisonment, were inflicted. Again, however, it was believed that the Government would take the opportunity of the approaching Presidential election to proclaim an amnesty for political prisoners. But, meanwhile, the riots connected with the church inventories supervened ; and, as some clericals thought it incumbent upon them to demonstrate their affection for religion by shooting gendarmes, the Government, not being prepared to pardon these offenders, shrank from the accusation of favouring anti-militarists while enforcing the law against clerical offenders. Then certain military officers refused to obey military orders which, as they alleged, would have involved support of the civil authorities against the Church in connection with the inventories. In one case, at least, the order in question had

## NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

no apparent connection with the enforcement of the inventories. Nevertheless, the officers were all acquitted, on the plea of conscience, by the military tribunals, though they were subsequently dismissed the army by the Minister of War. The result is, that, while anti-militarists who counsel possible disobedience to military orders in hypothetical circumstances are languishing in prison, military officers who actually disobeyed military orders have been acquitted. It is to be hoped that such an injustice will not long be allowed to exist in a country which prides itself on its logic. Meanwhile, we may suggest that the War Office, which dismissed the offending subordinates, ought to take into serious consideration the case of the commanding officers who gave the orders to subordinates who, as they must very well have known, would disobey them. There is no lack of Republican officers in the French army. Next month we hope to publish an informed article on the whole subject, from the pen of a distinguished French publicist now actually in prison for the alleged crime of anti-militarism.

Since we last wrote, Europe has been relieved of two anxieties ; by the solutions of the Moroccan difficulty and of the constitutional crisis in Hungary.

**Algeciras** After dragging on many weary months, a settlement satisfactory enough to the principal parties was reached at Algeciras. France has admitted Spain and, in a small degree, Germany and Great Britain as partners in "the peaceful penetration of Morocco." Germany could get little aid, even from Austria ; and Italy lent her support to the claims of France. But it is probable that the graceful concessions made by Germany at the last moment were due rather to financial embarrassment than to change of feeling. Until a settlement of the controversy had been reached, the Prussian and German loans could not be floated, nor could the great Russian loan be issued with any prospect of success. The questions, therefore, of the Moroccan Police and the new Bank of Morocco were strictly subordinate. Germany was in financial straits ; and the only way out of them was to give way in Morocco,

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

in order that France might finance Russia, and so relieve the Berlin money-market. So it has come to pass, that the Prussian and German loans have been floated; and, as we write, the Russian loan for 90 millions is on the point of being issued.

The Hungarian settlement is regarded as a miracle, even by men so well accustomed to domestic surprises as the editors of Austrian and Hungarian newspapers. Within a few days the Hungarian Constitution would have been superseded, and taxes would have been placed on an illegal footing. The military were preparing to enforce the Emperor-King's prerogative. Suddenly it was announced that Francis Joseph was about to come to terms with the leaders of the coalition in Parliament. In a few days all was arranged. Count Apponyi, the eloquent leader of the Magyar Radicals, joined a new Cabinet over which Dr. Wekerle, a tried administrator, presides. Even Francis Kossuth has become a Cabinet Minister. The new Cabinet will dissolve Parliament and go to the country with a programme of franchise reform which will practically mean manhood suffrage and the extinction of a large number of small and corrupt boroughs. When Parliament re-assembles, the Budget will be voted; the *Ausgleich*, or financial compact with Austria, will be renewed; and the great Reform Bill will be introduced. The Hungarian patriots have agreed to drop for the present their demand for a national army, and for the abolition of German as the military language in Hungarian regiments. All this will help the cause of reform in Austria; and, altogether, the political outlook in the Dual Monarchy is better now than it has been for many years.

## THE SECULAR SOLUTION

**M**R. BIRRELL'S task of conciliation is so hard, as between Anglican and Dissenter, that, to the eyes of many of his sympathisers, there is an air of wanton malevolence about a demand which in one direction outgoes that of each of the historic combatants. Politicians are wont to admit that the "logical" solution of the educational problem would be, to exclude religious instruction altogether from State-supported schools; but it is customary in this country to make such announcements in the happy confidence that a logical solution is never expected or desired by the British people. Others, more biassed to rational thinking, exhibit uneasiness at having to admit the logicity of a course they refuse to take. Thus Dr. Macnamara, in the discussion on the first reading of Mr. Birrell's Bill, spoke of the "irritating demand for logical consistency" put forward by the advocates of the secular solution; and further indicated his irritation by calling their logic "dry." Those whose logical training has not included a knowledge of the test of humidity in regard to propositions are conscious, when so assailed, of being disliked, but not of being confuted.

It may prevent some prejudice if we recall the fact that the first men to propound the "secular" solution were not, in the specific sense, "secularists": that is to say, they were not opposed to religion as such. It is even asserted by Professor Holman that, in the disputes of the middle decades of the last century, "the so-called secularists, with but few exceptions, desired nothing more than that the mental powers should be so cultivated that they might be turned to religious instruction with the greatest advantage.

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

. . . The reading of the Bible, and definite moral training, were always insisted upon in the secular system." Presumably the advocates of that system were also willing that the moral training should be associated with the Bible reading. What has forced upon many who were once of that way of thinking a more uncompromising attitude is, the historic discovery that a compromise in the end serves but as a way of re-entry into the schools for the age-long battle of the sects. Fifty-five years ago, W. J. Fox read in the House of Commons a manifesto from the working men of London, in which it was earnestly urged that the sectarian dispute was always keeping English education backward. To-day, working men and educationists are saying the same thing; and the demand for a purely secular system in the public schools is put forward in Parliament on the one hand by a High Churchman, Mr. Masterman, and on the other by the Labour Party, several of whose members are Methodist local preachers, or in other ways identified with religious organisations. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, their spokesman, avows a special concern for "spiritual" religion.

Naturally, they are supported in the country by those who, from whatever religious standpoint, consider the Bible to be essentially unsuitable as a manual for the young; and it is a symptom of the gradual spread of tolerance, that the latter classes of objectors are publicly admitted to have a right to a hearing, by some who have no intention of granting their request. The demand for the exclusion of religious instruction from the State schools is thus, like the demand for religious instruction, a political combination, proceeding from various orders of opinion. That is to say, it has those characteristics that entitle it to the attention of the "practical" minds who shun principles for their own sake, but extend to the mere malcontent a charity they deny to the doctrinaire.

Handled in this way, as an issue in practical politics, the demand for a strictly secular system justifies itself primarily on political grounds. The argument which irritates Dr. Macnamara, for instance, is this: that Nonconformists, who resent so profoundly the conveyance of Anglican instruction

## THE SECULAR SOLUTION

in the schools at the public cost, have no right to set up in the same schools, at the public cost, a species of religious instruction which Anglicans specially associate with Nonconformity, and which, for a considerable number of rate-payers, is objectionable on other grounds. There is good reason to believe that this is recognised and admitted by many Nonconformists. In many constituencies, for instance, the political organisation of the Free Churches at the General Election made no demand of candidates that they should declare for any form of religious instruction in the schools, but stood simply for a removal of the denominational preferences given to the Church of England by the Act of 1902. Much is said, indeed, of the "determination" of the majority of British parents that their children shall be schooled in religion as of yore. But this determination appears to be in large part clerically manufactured, as regards alike Anglicans and Nonconformists. Some years ago, Sir John Gorst, in one and the same article, made the two assertions: that English parents are in the mass determined to have religious teaching for their children in the State schools, and that they are substantially indifferent on the subject. The latter statement is often assented to among politicians. But the determining factor, as regards organised action, is the proselytising of the clergy of the State Church.

In 1870, the latter skilfully and successfully raised, as against the consistent "voluntaries" among the Nonconformists, the charge of striving for a "godless" education. For an impartial outsider, the impeachment, as brought by Anglicans against Nonconformists, has a distinctly humorous aspect. Of all British Churches, the Church of England is surely the least pious. But the Nonconformists, stung by the taunt, mostly evacuated their true voluntary position in 1870; and to-day, while the taunt has probably less disturbing power, they are haunted by the fear that the denominational activities of Anglicans and Catholics may distance them in the competition for adherents. The "four-fifths" provision in Mr. Birrell's Bill, by offering their rivals a continued life of denominational propaganda in publicly supported schools, will therefore tend to make the Nonconformists cling the more to what they term the "unde-



## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

nominal" system set up by the Cowper-Temple clause ; which is, however, practically *their* collective denominational system, let Mr. Birrell say what he will about the latitudinarian harmony of Hampshire.

And this is the standing danger that is left uncured by the present Bill. Mr. Birrell has undoubtedly made a vigorous effort to hoist the wagon of national education out of the slough into which it was driven by the late Government ; and, so far, he is entitled to all the praise he has received. But he has left open the old cause of quarrel between the contending sects. It does not seem to have occurred to him that, when a multitude of schools receive either "facilities" or "extended facilities" for denominational education, chiefly of the Anglican and Catholic orders, the Nonconformists will be under a perpetual temptation to make the other schools serve their own denominational turn ; and that, in the sphere of every local authority concerned, there will thus continue in full swing the old clerical competition. Anglicans will compass sea and land to make one proselytising centre ; and the more of such centres they set up, the greater will be the sectarian friction. As of old, the Churches will fight for possession of the children on the field of politics ; and, as of old, education will suffer.

It is a delicate matter for a rationalist to offer counsel to Churchmen ; and I have no great expectation of being promptly believed when I suggest to Nonconformists, that they would be in a stronger position as against Anglican encroachment if they consented to the just course of making the ordinary schools entirely secular. But so it is. So long as they profess to regard the "Cowper-Temple" teaching as both important and satisfying, so long they entitle Anglicans to claim the kind of teaching which *they* profess to find alone important and satisfying. It is impossible to prove, politically or theologically, that an Anglican Christian, believing in a need for daily religious instruction of the young, ought to be contented with the bare reading of Biblical passages, without exposition. By insisting on Bible-reading in the schools—as a religious lesson, not as literature—the Nonconformist pronounces

## THE SECULAR SOLUTION

that daily religious teaching for children is so essential as to force him to override his own voluntary principles. Then how can he confute the Anglican who says it is so essential as to force him to insist here on *his* professed principles? No amount of carping at "dry logic" will enable the Nonconformist to conceal the fact that he is here in a hopeless dilemma.

From that dilemma there is only one way of escape—by reversion to consistency. Let the Nonconformist apply to the public schools the principle he applies to administration in general; and let him be more righteous than his rival. He will then hold the vantage-ground, even if, for the present, the Anglican is enabled by the "four-fifths" clause to set up an Anglican atmosphere in certain schools at his own cost. For it is an error on the part of both sides to suppose that they seriously strengthen themselves by their measure of intervention in the State schools. Here again, the rationalist counsellor is likely to be suspected of giving guileful advice. But it has long been the conviction of many, that no act of mere disestablishment and disendowment of religion—the category to which secularisation of the schools would belong—will in itself do anything to weaken the hold of religion on the people; and in France already, we are told, the Church shows a measure of new vitality as a result of its separation from the State. Assuredly, the simple reading of the Bible by the young, as an inspired book, puts no obstacle in the way of free-thinking propaganda: on the contrary, any propagandist of free thought, probably, will admit that his work is easier with people who know their Bibles than with those who do not. That the reception of the Bible in childhood as the highest form of truth prepares many for its thorough rejection at maturity is, of course, not an argument that can be usefully addressed to believers; but the present practice of many of the Churches is sufficient to show that they rely for their moral maintenance on many forms of appeal much more than on the bare reading of the Bible in the elementary schools. This being so, the Nonconformist does but bar his case alike against denominational schools and the Church Establishment, by securing for himself the unserviceable endowment

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

of a sort of communal denominationalism in the schools. Already the bishops have decided upon an "uncompromising opposition," even to a Bill which gives them more than Nonconformists like to grant.

What then will be the situation if the Bill is passed as it stands? The Church, with its foot inside the door, will go on pushing; and, all the while, the Nonconformists stand committed to the principle which concedes the essentials of the sacerdotalist claim. There is, in short, no prospect of educational peace until all forms of ecclesiastical claim are excluded from the State schools; and the Nonconformists are but prolonging an indecisive strife to their own disadvantage by re-establishing the miscalled "undenominational" system of religious instruction in the State schools, when they have the opportunity to secularise them. At the same time, *à fortiori*, they are postponing the possibility of disestablishment, inasmuch as they affirm the first principle of establishment, by imposing a form of religious instruction on the State schools. Only on the ground of a consistent voluntarism can they make any real headway against what they term sacerdotalism *par excellence*.

If Nonconformists cannot see the force of this argument, they are hardly likely to be impressed by an appeal to them to act on the principles of justice, on which they professed to stand in the "passive resistance" movement. But it is at their peril that they ignore such a challenge. The movement in question resisted as an outrage on conscience the imposition on the rates of the full cost of teaching a frankly denominational religion in the schools. But Mr. Birrell's Bill will impose on the rates the full cost of teaching a religion which is at least as unsatisfactory to those who do not believe in it as Anglicanism can be to any Nonconformist. What then is the standard of conscientiousness? Will the passive resister, after all his invocation of conscience, simply fall back on Mr. Birrell's dictum, that minorities must always suffer hardship? If he does, he has, once for all, cancelled his claim to any special respect. Mr. Birrell's saying is broadly true as a statement of historic fact; and may very well pass as the explanation of his compromise by a statesman who finds himself compelled to strike

## THE SECULAR SOLUTION

a balance between two parties, neither of which will consent to abide by the canons of political justice. But, as a justification of a new act of political tyranny by a Party which has, up to this moment, been protesting against the infliction of a lesser tyranny on itself, the formula becomes simply base. Beyond a certain point, a Minister cannot help himself ; but a majority which deliberately calls upon him to impose a hardship upon a minority *because* it is a minority, has simply forfeited all right to good treatment from any Party that shall ever outnumber it. Not thus can any Party certificate itself as conscientious. "It is ill jesting with men's consciences," said Mr. Birrell, in the speech in which he introduced his Bill. Is his meaning to be understood only by adding the qualification—"when they happen to be the majority"? And is it to become a maxim, that there is no harm in jesting with men's consciences when they are not numerous enough to outvote you?

The political case against the Nonconformist compromise is really so clear, that the defence of it almost always takes the form of retreat to another position. One set of defenders tells us that "the country is not ready" for the secular solution ; another set, typified by Dr. Macnamara, puts pleas which do but strengthen the hands of the Anglicans. The reading of the Bible in the schools, says the last-named educationist, tends to "sweeten and beautify life"; and if it be not left a part, however optional, of the daily school routine, the result will be "disaster." If the Opposition know their business, they will turn these assertions to the effective defence of the full Anglican claim. Dr. Macnamara, it will be observed, makes no demur to the new arrangement under which, instead of the burden of withdrawal of a child from religious instruction under a conscience clause being laid on the parent, there is no obligation on any one to send a child to school until the morning's religious instruction is over. By this change, said Mr. Birrell, the withdrawn child, instead of being an object of obloquy, is likely to become an object of envy ; and the laughing House, enjoying the jest, evidently regarded it as full-charged with truth. It would appear, then, that the withheld children are likely to be numerous.

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

Presumably their parents will be of two classes—those who are opposed to Bible-reading for their children, and those who are indifferent. Either way, the children who miss the Bible-reading in the school are those who are most unlikely to have it at home. Of this species of “disaster,” Dr. Macnamara appears to have no fear; he permits of it without a murmur. The “disaster” as to which alone he is apprehensive is the withholding of a modicum of Bible-reading in the day-school from the children whose parents want them to have it, and are therefore presumptively sure in any case to secure thorough Bible-teaching for them, either at home or at Sunday School. The plea thus confutes itself. Dr. Macnamara would probably call this *reductio ad absurdum* of his proposition an exhibition of “dry logic”; but that will not set his case on its feet again. The “disaster” formula, however, will very well serve the case of the Anglicans as against Dr. Macnamara and the Bill. They are fully entitled by it to protest that disaster must follow from the encouragement given by the Bill to the withholding of children from religious instruction; and, yet further, that disaster is likely to arise when bare Bible-reading, without note or comment, is the only religious instruction put in the way of the children who, at the wish of their parents, attend the State schools for such instruction.

Equally may the argument as to “sweetness and beauty” be turned against its framer. Precisely on such grounds do Anglicans and Catholics vindicate their more elaborate systems of daily religious instruction. Is Parliament to be called upon to prefer the Cowper-Temple style to the Anglican or any other, on the score that it is the best calculated to sweeten and beautify life? If not, why is the plea put forward at all? Is it seriously pretended that everything which, in the opinion of any of us, sweetens and beautifies life, is fitly to be insisted on as a part of the elementary school curriculum?

I shall not embitter this “irritating” discussion by insisting on the fact, that a large number of cultured and thoughtful people earnestly deny that the indiscriminate reading of the Bible by children is the way even to utilise what elements of sweetness and beauty it can yield. It is

## THE SECULAR SOLUTION

enough in this connection to recall the fact, that it is in this way that many young boys obtain their first introduction to the kind of knowledge of which their mothers would wish to retard their acquisition. It must be within the knowledge of many educationists that, in most large schools, there will always be some boys who can refer the others to the passages which the teacher would rather they did not read. But, apart from this sufficiently serious drawback, it is necessary to put the plea that, for the special purposes of the moral education of children, the Bible, in virtue of its general nature, is clearly not a fitting manual. The moral and personal qualities which it is specially necessary to cultivate in children are kindness, courtesy, unselfishness, truthfulness, cleanliness, and tidiness. Each and all of these characteristics can be with much more facility cultivated by means of lore and doctrine on the child's special plane, than by the citation of Biblical passages. This has, in fact, already been recognised by a considerable number of educational authorities, who have made use of the *Moral Lessons for Children* prepared by Mr. F. J. Gould; and it is open to other authorities to procure the compilation of other manuals for the same purpose.

A clerical friend has urged upon me, that every child of a certain age ought to know, as a mere matter of human history, what are "the Ten Commandments"; and this, probably, no one will dispute. A literary knowledge of the Bible is a part of average culture; and some of it may fitly be given to children before their 'teens. But to specify the Ten Commandments as an ancient Hebrew code, either similar or superior to the Twelve Tables of early Rome, is one thing; to make them the basis of the moral instruction of children in the schools is a very different thing. The moral law for child life is a widely different matter from the social and criminal law for either ancient Hebrews or modern adult Europeans. As regards other matters of Biblical narrative, further, the argument as to what children "ought to know" will lead to grave difficulties if it be insisted on that the State school is the place in which the information, as information, is to be conveyed. Few educated people, probably, are now desirous of having their children taught, as

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

historic and scientific truth, the story of the Creation and the Flood in Genesis ; despite the vogue of the—in some aspects—convenient doctrine, that children ought to be led through all the stages of religious belief which have been traversed by the race. Even a generation ago, a number of teachers conveyed to their pupils the theorem that the six “days” of Genesis meant six ages ; and, though that accommodation is now rejected by all geologists, it is probably current in some circles still. Is that, or any analogous explanation, then, to be permitted to any teacher who may be questioned by a child as to the Creation story ; or is the Creation story to be simply dropped from the school syllabus of Bible-reading, leaving the inquiring child to make what he can of the geology, astronomy, and chronology of the Bible placed in his hands ? Is the teacher to be bound to preside over the reading of passages which he knows can only confuse the child’s knowledge ; or, if he is to be allowed discretion, where is the discretion to end ? Is he to be free to indicate to his pupils such a matter of elementary scholarship as that the “Psalms of David” are certainly not all the work of David ? If he may go so far, how much further may he go, in the indication of results of the “higher criticism” ?

It is often argued, that the problem might be solved by treating the Bible as simple literature. In this way, one writer recently suggested, the religious lesson, which in his experience is the least popular, might be made as popular as the English literature lesson. But against this a perfectly justifiable protest is made by those for whom the Bible is *the* inspired book. For them, the treatment of the Bible as a book like another is a denial of its special inspiration—a denial which no one has the right to make a part of the teaching of the State schools ; even as, on the other hand, the exposition of the Bible as *the* inspired book is the specific obtrusion of dogma where it has been agreed that there shall be no dogmatics. Once more, we are at an *impasse*. Cannot thoughtful religious people see that the one solution is the leaving of religious teaching to religious agencies, and the elimination of the problem from the work of the State school ?

## THE SECULAR SOLUTION

There remains to be met the old answer, before indicated : "the country is not ready for such a solution." But who determines that the country is not ready ? Representative Liberals avow that *they* are quite willing to accept a secular system ; but that their Nonconformist constituents are not. To this the answer is, that the readiness of Nonconformists is clearly a matter for the decision of the organisations of the Free Churches ; and that, if these pronounce for the secular solution, there will be small trouble from individual Nonconformists in the constituencies. If it be still vaguely contended that "the people" are opposed to the secular solution, let us put one more test question. Do the Labour members, or do they not, represent working-class opinion ? If they do not, what members do in any much higher degree ? If they do represent it in general, how came they, on the view that the people are devoted to use and wont, to receive their mandate in favour of a secular system ? Free-thinkers they are not. Did they invent the mandate ? Did they so uniformly misconceive the opinion of their supporters on one of the burning questions of the day as to be unanimously astray ? Let common-sense pronounce.

JOHN M. ROBERTSON



## THE NEW PARLIAMENT

“**N**O man,” says the ancient wisdom, “putteth new wine into old bottles.” But a nation has done that which the individual dare not do. The new wine of a Reforming Parliament—new in personnel, new in temper and energy—has been placed in the placid, archaic, dusty setting of the House of Commons. A peaceful Revolution was accomplished in the first month of 1906. The Reaction fell, not in gentle subsidence or with partial recovery, but in sudden, helpless, irrevocable collapse. One could almost experience the physical sense of noise, witness the clouds of dust arising, listen to the crash and falling, as the cities of the North swung their enormous majorities into the cause of Reform ; and London, firmly if somewhat heavily arising, shook off the dominance of a Toryism which had seemed established there for ever ; and the counties concluded the tale of marvel by rejecting the nominees of the country aristocracy, and completing an indisputable national verdict. It was a time—while it lasted—of tumult and rejoicing. Men felt themselves witnessing or aiding one of the remarkable changes of the world. To many the victory, coming unexpectedly at the end of a time hard to endure, seemed charged with the meaning of miracle. There was much in the contest of the purely Party warfare, the humour, the boisterous bye-play, the exaggerations of the normal swing and contest in English politics. But there was much also of something deeper, of a religious faith still cherished in serious England and amongst the ranks of Nonconformity, which saw in the great upheaval some vindication of justice, and found expression for its gratitude in the ancient thanksgivings. All who fought, in

## THE NEW PARLIAMENT

however humble position, during those astonishing days, will remember the special type of letters and messages of congratulation, in a spirit which, to the critical eye of a colder time, looks like cant, but in reality was altogether honest and sincere. As one: "*Non nobis Domine, non nobis sed Nomini Tuo da gloriam.*" Or another: (not without humour) "*I saw Satan like lightning fall from Heaven.*" Or a third, (perhaps the most spontaneous and universal:)" "*When the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion, then were we like unto them that dream.*"

With such a spirit behind it in the country, the new Parliament assembled at Westminster. For parallel one has to go back behind the Midlothian Campaign, behind even the first Parliament after the Reform Bill, to something like the hopes which animated the Parliament sitting in the days of Dunbar, or the States General which was to consummate the Age of Gold by the making of a new earth and heaven. Public interest was aroused as it had not been for a generation. The very texture of the House of Commons had been changed. Over three hundred new members had been returned. The Nonconformists in every village in England had thrown themselves into the contest with psalms and prayers. The workmen were awake in the big cities, not fully conscious of their aims and ideals, but filled with a real if vague insistence upon reform. Even the agricultural labourer had shaken off his long sleep, suddenly stood upright, and rejected feudalism in places where feudalism thought itself secure until the Judgment Day. The beginnings of Parliament seemed to resemble the opening of the Third Act of *Die Walküre*, with the arrival at the trysting place of the messengers of good fortune amid the crash of a triumphant music. Members fresh from the tumult of great public meetings, with the sound of cheering crowds not yet died away, found themselves gathering in an historic assembly with others of a similar experience. Each came with the mandate of his constituency, demanding reform; and with a determination that a fresh start and energy should be infused into the old dead life of Parliament.

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

The first day revealed the transformation ; to the astonishment of those educated in the tradition of the older days. The Reaction, for so long secure and prosperous, had returned as a mere broken fragment ; its rulers fallen, its standards lost. Cooped up in a scanty quarter of the House, having lost overwhelmingly in numbers, but more in quality, with its leader and ten of his front-bench colleagues amongst the rejected, it surveyed dismally, with a mixture of bewilderment and disgust, the change which had come upon its world. The Irish Nationalists below the gangway found themselves unexpectedly reinforced by a compact party of some thirty Labour members : the new Party which is the darling child of this Election, upon which public attention has been so largely concentrated in astonishment and prophecy. But the Protectionists, the Irish, and the Labour Parties all united were hopelessly outnumbered by the enormous majority which had been returned generally as supporters of the new Government ; which filled the spaces above and below the gangway to the right of the Speaker's chair, and flooded over on to the floor of the House, and sent isolated pools into the Opposition benches, and crowded the galleries above. Here was the engine fashioned by the Election, the chosen instrument of Democracy ; some, indeed, familiar with the House of Commons, some with distinction outside, but, in the main, an immense body of many hundreds, formless, chaotic, unorganised ; not knowing each other, not knowing themselves ; each with his particular determination, his conception of the necessities of the nation ; and only united in a common hatred of the methods and principles by which England has been governed for the last ten years, and a common determination to push forward the work of reform.

The history of the first two months has been the history of the struggle between the new wine and the old bottles. Day by day the observer, cynical or sympathetic, has been able to watch the manner in which the old traditions and formularies have quietly fastened upon this new energy, worn it down, tamed it, bent it to their wishes. Chateaubriand, in his eager, rhetorical fashion, once explained his

## THE NEW PARLIAMENT

failure in the education of the son of Charles X. "And I too have tried to carry a child king ; but I did not perceive that he was sleeping in a cradle with ten centuries ; a load too heavy for my arms." The House of Commons is "sleeping with ten centuries" ; and it is with these ten centuries that the new spirit is wrestling, in its efforts to convert it into an instrument of reform. There is room for only a fraction of the members who wish to attend (I have been present every day, generally by question time, and have never yet secured a seat of my own). The scantiness of space, as Mr. Frederic Harrison has pointed out, is the thirteenth century still triumphant—the necessity for the retaining of the oblong form of the chapel of the Plantagenet kings. When a member has attained a seat, his duty is to listen to an interminable stream of talk, honoured by the title of "the Debate." The bore, who in previous Parliaments has established his reputation, and was accustomed to address a sleepy audience of ten or twenty, now finds himself holding forth in his forty or fifty minutes to a crowded, attentive assembly. He thinks it a foretaste of Paradise. Subjects are discussed ; then discussed again ; and then again discussed again. The divisions are a relic from the assemblies of the ancient Britons, still unchanged except that the open hillside has given place to the choked, heated atmosphere of the narrow ways on each side of the Chamber. And a Government lobby in the fourth division upon some irrelevant and trivial topic, with four hundred elderly gentlemen wedged for twenty minutes as in the scramble for the pit of a theatre in a narrow lane which would comfortably hold one-fourth of that number, is an experience calculated to awaken despair of representative government. The old gradually triumphs. It has so much in its favour. In the lobbies, in tea rooms, in libraries, in desultory gossip, in the empty protest of a universal complaint, the new edges of reform are being worn down into acquiescence. The native hue of resolution is sicklied o'er, not with the pale cast of thought, but with the dust of the enormous past. The sound of the conflict in the constituencies, the high hopes of change, that eager confidence of the poorest which was so insistent in the Election

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

campaign ("You *will* fight for the poor, won't you?" is the parting benediction to one Labour member from his Lancashire village) sound faint and far away. Enterprises of great pith and moment already commence to find their currents turn awry, and to lose the name of action.

To pass to details. Questions occupy the first hour of Parliament. The privilege of questioning Ministers upon affairs of current importance is invaluable. But the questions reveal to-day the helpless congestion which has fallen upon the Mother of Parliaments. Opening the Question Paper at random—on any day—we find such an edifying entry as follows :

\* 14 Mr. Ffrench.—To ask the Postmaster-General in view of a statement in the Post Office Regulations Book that the charge for a private box varies from £2 2s. to £3 a year at the larger post offices, but that at the smaller offices the amount is £1 1s. a year, if he will say whether the charge of £2 2s. is made all over the three kingdoms in towns with the same population as Wexford, about 11,000 ; and if not, can he explain why the payment for a private box was increased from £1 1s. to £2 2s. on Messrs. Pierce & Co.'s Cycle Works.

Of such, with two or three supplementary questions following each, is the texture composed. No one blames the questioner. Here is the only Court of Appeal which Ireland is allowed. The subject is of importance to Wexford, of more importance to Messrs. Pierce & Co., of most (perhaps) to Mr. Ffrench. But this is a Parliament staggering forward under the burden of the overlordship of four hundred millions of human beings, with legislation hopelessly clogged, and a national expenditure of some hundred and fifty millions rigorously to examine. And, under such a burden, the helpless condition into which it has fallen, by its centralisation and its inability to devolve upon subordinate assemblies consideration of the Wexford Post Office, is becoming ever more glaringly apparent.

Following Questions, on certain days, come Estimates. And a superficial experience of Estimates is enough to drive

## THE NEW PARLIAMENT

home the lesson that the control of finance has practically passed from the House of Commons. Estimates are no longer, or only very scantily, occupied with an examination of expenditure. They are for the most part opportunities for raising desultory discussion upon any subject in which the House (or a portion of it) is interested. Thus, on the Foreign Office Estimates we will have a full dress debate on Chinese Labour, by Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Winston Churchill, Mr. Balfour, the Prime Minister ; with all the panoply of war. On Civil Service Estimates, the day will be devoted to examination of Irish University Education, or the lack of it. On Army Estimates, the time will be occupied by the problem : "How to teach the militia to shoot straight." In moments, wedged in uneasily between such exciting discussions, a small intrepid gang of specialists—mostly Scotch—attacks the real problem ; and, before a tired empty House, enlarges upon the advantages of varied fortifications, or the excessive price paid for soldiers' trouser-buttons. Even such examinations are to vanish later, when all the Estimates hitherto undiscussed are to be forced through Parliament in a night and a day. One day : one vote ; one debate : one division ; that will be the routine from which escape appears impossible. And already one can forecast the debates of the session : Aliens Bill on the Home Office vote ; Lord Milner or the Natal Natives on the Colonial Office ; Land Bill on the Irish Estimates ; and so forth. The debates are interesting, instructive, valuable ; time so spent is very far from wasted. But it would be absurd to contend that they represent any effective attempt to bring the national expenditure before the criticism of Parliament.

We pass to the private member and his jealously-guarded nights and days. On two evenings he has been able to bring in his Resolutions ; on one afternoon his private Bills. The Resolutions are purely academic ; they are allotted by ballot. We are back in the atmosphere of the debating society. We have already approved this session the desirability of paying members, paying election expenses, giving universal Old Age pensions, reforming the Port of London ; with other less costly changes. No one is worse, if no one

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

is better. There is an idea that the country is at once edified and educated, and that ultimately such resolutions may be incorporated in Bills and become law. The private members' Bills are still more vain and empty. Some eighty or ninety members decide to bring in Bills. They are all printed, at the Government expense. They are all presented. The announcement is made, gladdening to the member and his constituency, that Mr. A. B. has presented a Bill for the encouragement of the breeding of cats or rabbits, or for the equal division of everything. They are all accorded a first reading ; some a second. All then incontinently perish. The Bill which is lucky enough to draw the first Friday of the session, and to be referred to a select Committee, may ultimately, and through the connivance of the Government, drift into law. Otherwise, the advocacy of Bills on Fridays is as much an empty form as the advocacy of Resolutions on other days. The measure for the Taxation of Land Values in Scotland missed its reference to Committee after second reading by four minutes. If we had marched four minutes quicker through three absurd divisions, that is to say, the Scottish cities might next year be taxing their land. As some elderly gentlemen delayed to talk, Scotland must wait for an indefinite future. Three desperate men—two at a pinch—acting with enterprise and deliberation, could effectually kill every private Bill of the session. "The private member," was the verdict of John Burns twelve years ago, "is a public nuisance." And those private members who anticipated the attainment of an earthly immortality with a reform skilfully piloted through the House of Commons, are reluctantly coming to acquiesce in the truth of the verdict.

There remains, therefore, the question of Government business. And here also the new spirit has found itself pent up before barriers and boundaries against which it frets and chafes in vain. It came with an overwhelming mandate for Retrenchment. It found a Naval Estimate for thirty-six millions calmly slipping by, and let it pass with but a thin growl of dissatisfaction. It found, heaped upon this, an Army Estimate of twenty-nine millions. Its dissatisfaction took a louder note ; it pleaded ; it protested ;

## THE NEW PARLIAMENT

finally, in one exciting night, it was challenged to divide against the Government ; and some fifty members registered their protest. It was commanded by the constituencies—no mandate was clearer—to end the system of Chinese indentured labour in South Africa. It has been persuaded into a kind of sullen acquiescence in the present persistence of work under the Ordinance, bribed by the promise that, when self-government is given in the future, no such system will be permitted to continue. It demanded above all things reform ; the commencement of that effort which, as Mr. Victor Berard has just warned us,<sup>1</sup> is the only hope for the maintenance of England's prosperity. "Reform, reform, and yet again reform." The county members demand an active agricultural policy, the staying of rural depopulation, the restoration of the land to the people. The town members demand taxation of urban site values, development of municipal activities, better housing, work for the unemployed. All unite in demanding a more intelligent and humane treatment of the young and the old, a shifting of the incidence of taxation upon those who can bear it, an abolition of food taxes, an increase in the contribution of irresponsible wealth to the general welfare of the community. Ireland, Scotland, Wales, demand their own particular settlements. All are seeing their desires gradually slipping beyond the horizon of practical politics. We have already considered a Workmen's Compensation Bill, a Trades Disputes Bill, a Merchant Shipping Bill, an Education Bill. We are further promised an Equalisation of Rates (London) Bill, an Unemployed Bill, and the Finance Bill. We wonder where the time is to be found for discussing and passing all of these. Mr. Redmond and other competent observers dismally inform us that one (or at most two) first-class measures is the utmost we can expect as an annual harvest. We think of the last great reforming Parliament of 1869, and the work it accomplished, and wonder what has happened in the interval to prevent a repetition of such inspiring days. An Underfed Children's Bill, through the chance of the ballot drawn in the first place of the session and sympathetically treated by the Government, will probably

<sup>1</sup> *Imperialism and British Commercial Prosperity.*



## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

represent the total asset of legislation directly concerned with Social Reform. Meanwhile, all inconvenient questions are postponed till to-morrow. Already a variety of measures are competing for the first place in the programme of 1907—a Temperance Bill, a big Land measure, an Irish Devolution scheme; to name only three. “Man never is, but always to be blest.” 1907 is to show the large retrenchment so eagerly looked for. 1907 is to show the model Budget, with taxation shifted on to the shoulders of the wealthy. 1907, in a word, is the golden year, the year of promises which 1906 has failed to attain. Those who look ahead are wondering whether in twelve months’ time the new Parliament and the nation will have learnt to acquiesce in present limitations; or whether, on the other hand, the demand for reform will burst through its present barriers into some kind of explosive and violent insistence upon an acceleration of the courses of change.

In perplexity at these coils and difficulties, the new House has turned on its Rules of Procedure, and viciously jabbed and hacked at the seasons of debate, in the hope of thus attaining relief. With the evidence of the total inadequacy of the public time for the business in hand, it has lopped off three quarters of an hour at the beginning and an hour at the end: the first to satisfy those who have work to accomplish outside Parliament, the second to placate those of us who are too poor to afford cabs and motors homewards. A partial compensation for this loss is to be found in the abolition of the dinner hour, with a practically continuous sitting from 2.45 to 11. Thus a time is restored to the House—in the Prime Minister’s pleasant description—when “young, unobtrusive, and timid members may be given a chance of practising upon small audiences.” However desirable or otherwise such changes may be, they are not, as a matter of fact, vital to the point at issue. Some material relief might indeed be afforded by a time limit to speeches (of some elasticity); by a saner method of divisions, which would prevent the pitiful waste of time therein involved; and by a return to rational periods of meeting through a rising in July and a permanent Autumn Session. But, beyond

## THE NEW PARLIAMENT

this, it is evident that, with all possible changes, with the House in continuous sitting night and day all the year round, it could not possibly grapple adequately with the task before it. The establishment of Committees with large powers of criticism and revision might provide substantial help ; beyond is a necessity, which events are drawing each year more prominent, of some wide powers of devolution, to local national assemblies, of purely local and national affairs.

What of the spirit and temper of the Parliament of Reform ? It is a mob, with all the mob's characteristics ; good tempered normally, with occasional fits of exasperation and anger, which show that potentialities of violence underlie this collection of decent English citizens. It laughs at all the recognised simple jokes. It cheers the same moral platitudes. It falls into the same simple traps set for it by cunning speeches. It admires cleverness. It is generous in its tribute of praise. It dislikes arrogance, noise, ostentation, portentousness, and pompous dulness. It is vital, with a certain rude energy ; it desires action ; it has come to do, not to talk, not to endure. It is impatient because so little is done. But it is hoping for better times. Members take their work seriously. They delight in Blue Books. They compete for places on minor committees. They write letters to the papers which circulate in their constituencies, describing their impressions of London and of Parliament. The majority is keen and eager for reform. It finds the new Government inclined to be cautious and hesitating. In the two bad mistakes which have been made during the first "prologue," in each case the blunder was due to the Government failing to interpret the mind of the House upon which it depended for support. In the first announcement concerning Chinese Labour, Mr. Winston Churchill, discoursing fluently upon "terminological inexactitude" (a clever, unfortunate phrase), found a House actively hostile, interrupting, protesting. In the introduction of the Trades Disputes Bill, the Attorney General presented a forlorn spectacle as he unrolled his scheme of remedy amid a deepening and depressing silence.

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

There is little direct loyalty to the present Government. The large proportion of new members is in part responsible for its absence. The severe difficulties of the past six years, not wholly forgiven, certainly not forgotten, are, perhaps, a more calculable cause. Members of the Government are, indeed, personally popular; none more so than the "Imperialist" section. But the Government as an entity awakens no passionate enthusiasm. The tone in the lobbies is one of an unflattering candour.

One man, indeed, and one man alone, can dominate this House of Commons. That man is the new Prime Minister. My Protectionist and Imperialist friends think I am wilfully exasperating them when I proclaim this unequalled influence of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. That the "incubus," "old 'methods of barbarism,'" "the impossible leader," (to name only a few of the politer epithets) should be raised to this pinnacle of power, is the bitterest pill to swallow of all the changes brought by the Rout of the Reaction. Yet it is the bare, sober truth. Those who cheerfully intrigued in the Tory Press last December to kick this man contemptuously into the House of Lords, have suddenly been compelled to realise that the nation has chosen him, rather than them, to guide its destinies. If he had accepted that disastrous advice, I doubt if the Government would have lasted through the present session.

History may find some difficulty in explaining why Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman has been called to be Dictator of this new England. In part the cause is general. We have suffered so much from irresponsible cleverness, from the blindness and greed of personal ambition, from the egotisms of those who are rarely so eloquent as when they are examining their own mental disturbances and equilibriums, that we turn with eagerness to a statesman less concerned with the condition of his own soul than with the performance of the work of the world. The Prime Minister led the Party through all the darkest days of its fortunes. He led it when the leadership was a burden refused by all, and when the wise man might have been exonerated for despair of the future. And he led, not by compromise or concealment, but by a plain-spoken honesty and deter-

## THE NEW PARLIAMENT

mination, regardless of consequences, to say what he thought to be right. It is the "blazing indiscretions" of that remote but unforgettable time, which to-day have given him his unequalled power. Society, which runs a war or promotes Imperialism as a new toy or plaything—yesterday the slums, to-day the Empire, to-morrow, perhaps, motor cars or flying machines—could not believe that the nation would ever forgive the author of those phrases in which England's passing madness was judged by her ancient and permanent standards of right and honour. It is the return to these standards by a nation not measured by its proximity to the London clubs and drawing-rooms, which has effected the miracle of the present unparalleled change. "We believe in no man's infallibility," was Spurgeon's famous verdict on Gladstone; "but it is restful to be sure of one man's integrity." We are "sure of one man's integrity" to-day in the House of Commons.

And in part the influence is more than political. It is a personal triumph. The Prime Minister is known to be a good Radical, sympathetic with the spirit of the new House. He is known to be entirely indifferent to the opinion of Society, and the finance which humorously calls itself "England." He has termed himself not a "Little Englander" but an "Old Englander." And it is the old England, throwing off the nightmare vision of the new, which has been manifested in this latest upheaval. But beyond that are the personal qualities: a plain, straightforward honesty of speech, free from embroidery, never elusive, or vague, or hesitating; an unfailing good temper; an invaluable quality of humour; and a real appreciation of the desires and emotions which play across the surface of this changing, nervous, sensitive assembly, like the cloud shadows playing across the hills.

It would be vain work to prophesy what will come out of it all. It would be idle to deny that few anticipate a sure and confident Government support during six amicable years. The vigilance and loyalty of that support are very largely dependent upon the capacities and energy of the Opposition. When that Opposition shows signs of life, the

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

Government ranks close up, and all signs of disunion vanish. The pitiful attempts of the Protectionist leaders to create dissension by subterfuges "far too naked to be shamed," only create amusement. Mr. Balfour or Mr. Chamberlain will pay elaborate compliments to the Labour Party, or announce the respect they entertain for an incredulous crowd of Radicals below the gangway, who honestly believe that the Chinamen are slaves or that Lord Milner is deserving of censure. Against such honesty they contrast, with a parade of indignation, the subtle and slippery methods of a Government seeking means of compromise. A prominent "Free Fooder" in the last Parliament was said to determine every morning that he would finally break with the Party drifting towards Protection. But every evening, as he gazed disgustedly at the Liberal leaders who by such a rupture would be returned to power, his resolution was abandoned. Much the same sentiment is latent and repressed to-day amongst those who are desirous of accelerating the pace of reform. They are often discontented with the "Whig" elements of the Cabinet; but they do not intend to behead Charles in order to make James King. Here is the oldest lesson of all. The easiest and most effective bond which can unite men together, is the bond of a common hatred. Mr. Winston Churchill, with his accustomed cleverness, has mastered the lesson, and adapted himself readily to the situation. His first speech, in which he had to unfold an unpopular policy, was a failure. He has had to expound unpopular policies since. But he has learnt the secret of success. He will spice his exposition of policy with gibes and insults hurled at the Opposition benches, delightedly cheered by the majority behind him. And he will regularly devote the last ten minutes of his speech to an essay in vituperation, a rising *crescendo* hurled across the floor of the House, amid the inarticulate protests of the unfortunate remnant of Protectionists, and the increasing enthusiasm of the Government benches. The most unpopular food will be swallowed when garnished with such an acceptable sauce. "All men are children," Lady Cecily informed Captain Brassbound; and proceeded to demonstrate the truth of her announcement. The statement holds good, even of

## THE NEW PARLIAMENT

those who have been specially selected for the representation of their fellows, as men of ability and renown.

And the new Parliament, as much as its members, is a child. It is a child in its varying moods, in its inexperience, in its generosity and its occasional cruelty, in its boundless hopes of the future. It interrupts hostile speakers, sometimes light-heartedly, sometimes bitterly and unfairly. It is now dejected, now hilarious. Rightly played upon, it may yet be made to discourse most excellent music. The critical time will come when it recognises the passing of the years—so much to do and so little done; when it confronts the high hopes of the anticipations with the pitiful realities of the accomplishment. “His energy,” wrote the biographer of William Morris in the later time, “had become forced and feverish. It was the power of the strong man yearning to accomplish something before his death, not the simple hope of the child who had long years of life and growth before him.” This Parliament is an assembly destined to a similar transformation. The period of such a change’s beginning will be a critical time for all concerned in the right guidance of the great progressive machine towards attainable ends. An ordinary Parliament with ordinary majorities—in the House and the constituencies—might pass its blameless space of days in mild measures of moderate reform. No such fate—desirable or ignoble—is reserved for this product of a national upheaval. The nation has sent back an astonishing House of Commons, with hopes in part extravagant, in part set upon the enterprise of large social amelioration. At the time of its greatest victory—it is no prejudiced verdict—Liberalism is on its ultimate trial.

*Then were we like unto them that dream.* The first is the final summary. Old members have described their astonishment at the return to the ancient arena; expecting to see Mr. Balfour spinning his airy cobwebs and Mr. Chamberlain bullying the Irish, and the gentlemen of England, lavishly scattered over the green benches, interrupting in boisterous, happy fashion, the feeble and despairing Liberal minority, or indulging in loud conversation to drown the speeches of Sir Henry Campbell-Banner-

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

man. In the interval, the accustomed scene has been swept as with a flood; the old order has vanished for ever. Serried ranks of eager unknown members, set on the work of reform, and indifferent to all the ancient traditions, have been washed into the House of Commons from every quarter of England. The impossible has so far become the normal, that it fails to awaken astonishment. Advanced Radical measures are carried by majorities of three or four hundred. The "pro-Boers," who had become the scorn of the Press, who failed to find a hearing in the country, who escaped with physical damage from infuriated mobs defended by Mr. Balfour as having reached the limits of human endurance, are found quietly triumphant, piloting motions through the House, or enunciating sentiments which a year ago would have led to a universal uproar. It is too soon to apprehend the full meaning of the change. Men are still stunned by the cataclysm. An imagination of particular delicacy and force is needed to interpret this change in terms of human welfare, to see behind the new crowd of respectable middle-aged gentlemen the Spirit of Democracy and the hope which has come into the world. A Carlyle should be discovered to chronicle the courses of contemporary affairs. What will this mean to the long passion of Ireland, to a South Africa tottering upon the edge of ruin, to the denizen of the city slum, to the old and the young who are the rightful subjects of the nation's compassion and its pride, to that patient expectation of the poor which shall not perish for ever? Anticipation of the consequence which may follow from this present Parliament's action should provide a guarantee for a sense of responsibility in such high calling—should ensure that no timidity and no rashness, no personal rivalry or jealousies of disappointed ambition, no one man's cowardice or fickleness and petulance of a crowd, shall hinder the going forward of the work of Reform.

C. F. G. MASTERMAN

## THE ELBERFELD SYSTEM IN ENGLAND

**H**OW to stop the manufacture of paupers? This is the question which is engaging the most earnest attention of all social reformers. Our present Poor Law has few defenders. It has now outrun its three score years and ten ; and there seems to be no "reason of strength" why its existence should be prolonged. The recently appointed Royal Commission will certainly suggest important modifications ; and the question is : What lines should they follow ?

It is fortunate that, coincident with this recognition that existing methods are unsatisfactory, public attention is being closely directed to what is known as the "Elberfeld System." This is, probably, largely due to the powerful appeal, in Miss Sutter's *Britain's Next Campaign*, for some humaner method of dealing with the indigent poor ; but that book, while giving a clear outline of Elberfeld methods, makes no attempt to grapple with the difficulties which confront any one who tries to transport a German system to English soil. My object is to examine those difficulties in the light of a two-fold experience. After three months' close study of the working of the Elberfeld System in the larger German cities—Berlin, Hamburg, Leipzig, and Cologne—I became a more enthusiastic admirer of the system than before, but somewhat sceptical as to the possibility of adopting it in this country. Since then, however, I have spent another three months in organising and drawing up a Constitution for a Citizen's Guild of Help in Halifax, modelled, so far as altered conditions permitted, on German lines. This latter experience, while it has revealed many difficulties that must arise in any attempt to Anglicise the Elberfeld System, has,



## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

at the same time, made me strongly hopeful that—difficulties notwithstanding—these Guilds of Help may successfully adopt all the essential features in German methods, and thus render valuable service in opening the way to a more rational and humaner system of poor-relief. It is true that Halifax is a comparatively small town ; but it is an industrial town, and presents all the ordinary poverty problems of an industrial town. And, even though Halifax is small, Bradford—the pioneer of the movement in this country—is large ; and in Bradford the system has been at work for eighteen months, with very beneficial results.

These examples, and those of Swinton, Liscard and Eccles (the only other places, I believe, where the system is fully organised and actually at work) are leading to numerous inquiries (I know of seventy-eight) from all parts of the country, by those who contemplate similar action. There are many pitfalls to avoid. Mistakes at the outset, made through lack of knowledge, may easily result in failure and disappointment. “Forewarned is forearmed” ; it will be my endeavour to give the forewarning.

These many efforts and inquiries are all indicative of a widespread unrest, a widespread dissatisfaction, not only with what is being done, but even with what is being attempted, by our present Poor Law. The conviction is steadily growing, that our present system, so far from stopping, is actually engaged in the manufacture of paupers, by the utter inadequacy of the relief afforded, and the degradation it inflicts on every recipient of its doles. It is more than fifty years since Carlyle wrote in his *Latter Day Pamphlets* : “Were all men doing their duty, or seriously trying to do it, there would be no paupers.” He speaks of “the quagmire of pauperism—a quagmire which must be *drained*.” This draining our Poor Law does not even attempt ; the most it can do is to pick out a few of those who are daily tumbling into it, and then to leave them with such inadequate support, that it is tolerably certain that they will not only relapse into it again, but drag their children with them. This limitation of the power of the Poor Law is frankly admitted by one of its ablest exponents. Mr. Bentham, the Chairman of the Bradford Board of Guardians, and a

## THE ELBERFELD SYSTEM IN ENGLAND

member of the recently-appointed Commission, said at a Conference of Poor Law Guardians in February, 1905, that "the Poor Law is not designed to prevent human shipwreck, but only to relieve those in distress. The Poor Law is a lifeboat, which goes out to save the drowning." This description is undoubtedly correct ; but that does not end the matter. An awakened national conscience calls for something more ; it demands, not merely a lifeboat to rescue the wrecked, but a lighthouse that will prevent the wreck. Here it is that the Elberfeld System comes to our aid ; the perception of this is creating the present widespread inquiry as to the possibility of its adoption in this country.

So much has been written lately about the working of this system, that it will only be necessary here to point out its leading features, in order to show in what way it supplies what we lack, and what are the chief difficulties that stand in the way of any attempt to Anglicise it.

Dr. Münsterberg, the President of the *Armenverwaltung* in Berlin, in his book *Das Elberfelder System* (by far the ablest exposition of the system that I know) lays stress upon three cardinal points, which he considers essential and fundamental. These three are (1) INDIVIDUALISATION, (2) SUBDIVISION INTO DISTRICTS AND SUB-DISTRICTS, and (3) DECENTRALISATION. Individualisation is the bed rock of the system ; but, without the other two, this would be impossible. It is through lack of these that England has failed ; it is through having them that Germany succeeds. In any attempt to Anglicise German methods, we may introduce many modifications ; but these fundamentals must be retained. How essential they are will become clearer when more fully explained.

### I. INDIVIDUALISATION.

Roughly speaking, this means that each case requiring help shall be dealt with on its merits, and not merely by some rule of thumb. But it means much more. It recognises how many and various are the causes that bring

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

poverty into a home, and that help, to be effective, must not only deal with symptoms, but must attack the disease. The symptoms are apparent to the most casual observer : half-starved, half-clad children, scanty furniture, an overcrowded dwelling, the tired, hopeless look of the mother, it may be accompanied by squalor and dirt. A weekly dole may do a little to allay these symptoms ; but it can never touch the disease or heal the suffering. There is always something behind these symptoms which cannot be discovered by the stereotyped inquiries of a paid official. He may elicit the facts that would satisfy a Gradgrind ; but he cannot catch a glimpse of the facts on which a true judgment can be formed, or helpful action taken. The fault lies, not with the official, but with the system. How is it possible for a Relieving Officer, with four or five hundred cases to attend to, to scrutinise the multifarious complexities of each particular case ? There is no alternative, under our system, but the "workhouse test"—that lamest of all lame expedients. "Abandon hope all ye who enter here," is almost as true to-day as when Carlyle applied Dante's words to the English workhouses seventy years ago. The conditions of workhouse life have doubtless been immensely improved ; but the atmosphere is the same—the atmosphere of pauperism—and the atmosphere (as we have been lately reminded of the school) is the potent and determining factor. No wonder that, with such a narrow way leading out into independent life, there be few that find it.

The sources of poverty are so various, that it is often intensely difficult to arrive at the true source after the most painstaking investigation. Yet this is of the first importance. The strong hand necessary to deal with criminal poverty will crush the tender heart of one whose poverty results from unavoidable misfortune. To have failed in a brave struggle to maintain independence is suffering enough ; it is increased beyond endurance when that failure is branded with the stigma of pauperism. But how are we to avoid it ? Germany shows us the way. When poverty strikes—or even threatens—a home or an individual, there stands a friend. He may or not bring money ; but he will bring help, and such help as circumstances require. This is made possible by—

## THE ELBERFELD SYSTEM IN ENGLAND

### II. DIVISION INTO DISTRICTS AND SUB-DISTRICTS.

A word or two of explanation may be necessary for those who are not familiar with the details. Every town is divided into a certain number of Districts, according to population; and these Districts are again sub-divided into from fourteen to sixteen Sub-districts. Each District has its Captain, and each Sub-district its Helper or *Armenpfleger* (literally, "one who cares for the poor"). Each Captain, with his fourteen or sixteen Helpers, is responsible for the poor in his own District; and these combine in their own persons—so far as outdoor relief is concerned—the duties both of our Boards of Guardians and Relieving Officers. Each Guardian is a Relieving Officer, and each Relieving Officer a Guardian. The person who visits the home and conducts the inquiry as to the need for help is himself a member of the Board by which the case is decided. What does this mean? It means a sub-division of labour so minute (no Helper having more than four cases under his charge at one time), that individualisation becomes, not only possible, but actual. It creates absolutely new conditions in the methods of dealing with poverty. It is a quantitative difference so vast that it becomes qualitative. It is not merely an enlargement; it is a transfiguration. A few figures will make still clearer the immense significance of this feature of the Elberfeld System. Berlin (pop. 1,654,256) has 4221 Helpers. These take the place and do the work which is done by our Relieving Officers and Poor Law Guardians. So the city of Berlin, acting through its City Council—apart from all that is done by the churches and by private agency—has an army of 4221 volunteers constantly taking care of its poor. The same, and in some cases an even better proportion between Helpers and population is found in other German cities. Hamburg (pop. 727,000) has 1563; Leipzig (pop. 450,000) has 975; while Elberfeld itself (pop. 150,000) has 518. When we compare this condition of things with that which we find in any English city, the difference is staggering. Take e.g. Leeds and Leipzig, with very similar populations. Leeds, with its four Unions, has 94 Guardians; Leipzig 975. And,

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

while Leeds has only 8 Relieving Officers, Leipzig has nearly 1000. And yet the Leeds Unions are as well manned as any others in this country. This minute sub-division of labour makes it possible to individualise ; but there is yet another essential to make that individualisation complete.

### III. DECENTRALISATION.

This means not only that each city has its own Poor Law Board responsible for the care of its own poor, without any Local Government Board to control its administration, but also that each of these Boards is divided into other Boards, which virtually have an independence of their own. The Captain, with his band of Helpers in each District, constitutes the Board of Guardians for that District, with practically the full powers of an English Board of Guardians for dealing with all ordinary cases of out-door relief. This independence engenders a sense of responsibility, while at the same time it gives confidence to the workers in undertaking their duties. The same persons who inquire and recommend, also decide what and what kind of relief shall be granted ; and they know that, in ordinary circumstances, they will not be interfered with. Each District Board is large enough to reap the benefit of collective experience when making its decisions, yet not so large as to prevent careful and individual attention to each particular case. Here also individualisation is secured.

Such are the main features of the Elberfeld System, and these must be strictly preserved. The essential point is, to ensure that individual attention is given to the circumstances of every applicant for relief ; and this must be ensured, not only when the Helper makes his investigations in the home, but also when the District Board considers and decides upon his report. To ensure this, the area to be worked must be so subdivided, that no one Helper shall have more than three, or at the most four, cases under his care at any one time, and no District Board shall have to consider the reports of more than fourteen or, at the most, sixteen Helpers. So far, however, no very grave difficulties present

## THE ELBERFELD SYSTEM IN ENGLAND

themselves. The construction of the machinery is comparatively easy ; the parts are already to hand and merely require to be put together. The difficulties begin when this purely mechanical work is finished. Some of these, doubtless, are more imaginary than real ; but others are very real, and the most real are often the least suspected.

The greatest difficulty in the minds of most people, if one may judge by the frequency with which it is mentioned, is that of finding a sufficient number of volunteers to do the work. In Germany it is different. The fact that every German city has Home Rule, has developed a civic sense which is absent here. In Germany, it is as natural to join the citizens' army for the redemption of the poor, as it is to join the national army for the protection of the State. In England, we have been so long accustomed to compound for this personal service by the payment of a rate, that many fear it will be impossible to call forth the necessary enthusiasm. At one time I shared that fear ; but my experience, so far as it has gone, has removed it. Halifax did not require a large number ; but we kept to the German proportions. We asked for twenty-three District Captains ; and we obtained them at once. It was the same with the Helpers. 330 were required ; we had a list submitted to us of more than 600, said to be willing to undertake the work ; and, in little more than a fortnight, the roll was complete. I believe that Bradford and Swinton had very similar experiences.

The real difficulty, however, lies, not in getting the requisite number of volunteers, but in securing those of the right kind, and in maintaining their enthusiasm. Carelessness in the selection of the workers—especially of the Captains—is certain to end, if not in actual failure, in heavy disappointment. This difficulty is not so great in Germany as it is with us. The system has been so long at work there, that each District in any town may always count on having a sufficient number of experts, from whose experience novices may learn, and decisions may be guided. In England it is different. We have amongst us, in connection with our churches and charitable societies, an innumerable company of amateur visitors, very willing,

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

very sympathetic, but (with the possible exception of those who have worked in connection with a C. O. S.) most of them wholly untrained. This is not enough. The battle with poverty is the stiffest battle we have to fight to-day; and there must be clear grit in those who would fight it. There is no place for the dilettante, the mere sentimentalist, or for the goody-goody chatterer. Soft sawder won't crack hard nuts; and there are none harder than those that are presented by the problems of poverty. What is needed in the Captains and Helpers of any Guild that would work on Elberfeld lines is tact (and that pre-supposes courtesy), judgment, firmness, the courage to say "No"; but, combined with these, must be deep and wide sympathies, and that love which "beareth all things and hopeth all things." It may not be possible to obtain this high standard in all who are enrolled in the ranks; but success or failure will depend on the care that is taken to reach it. This carefulness in the selection of material is the crux of the whole matter.

The plan adopted by the Halifax Committee may serve as a suggestion. The Committee recognised that it would be sheer folly to take any one who might volunteer, however sincere the offer of service might be. Accordingly it appointed four of its number to act as a Committee of Selection. This committee chose the Captains first. Other considerations besides personal character and general fitness had to be taken into account. Dr. Münsterberg, in *Das Elberfelder System*, draws attention to the caution that should be exercised not to appoint owners of cottage property to Districts in which that property is situated, nor local shopkeepers to be the almoners of their customers, etc. He thinks few would abuse their trust; but he urges caution to avoid suspicion, however groundless that suspicion might be. Then again, in the case of the Captain especially, it is of the utmost importance that he should be a man, not only of ability, but of some leisure. The duties are by no means light; and they can only be efficiently discharged when some considerable amount of time can be devoted to them. After giving due weight to these points, this committee of four, from a list of about forty names that had

## THE ELBERFELD SYSTEM IN ENGLAND

been submitted to it, selected twenty-three, the required number. These were personally interviewed, and furnished with a printed copy of a Captain's duties. The majority accepted at once ; others were speedily found. The Helpers were similarly chosen, though with one important modification. The number required was 330. The Committee had before it a list of more than 600 suggested names. From these a certain number were selected as suitable ; and each Captain was furnished with a list containing the names of rather more than he required. From this list each Captain was asked to choose his own Helpers, subject to the final approval of the Executive Committee.

But the difficulty with regard to the workers does not end here. A new philanthropic movement, with such high ideals, may be relied upon to create sufficient enthusiasm to enrol the requisite army of volunteers ; it takes more than that to keep these volunteers steadily at work in the trenches, when the novelty has worn off and the glamour has departed. In those German towns in which the working of the Elberfeld System is undertaken by the municipality, this difficulty is not met with. It is a civic movement ; and civic pride—so strong in Germany—will always sustain it. Every effort is made to invest the workers with civic dignity. The Captains and Helpers are received in public meeting by the Mayor's *Handschlag* ; and, in the presence of their fellow citizens, are solemnly pledged to a conscientious discharge of their duties. Accordingly they enter upon those duties clothed with civic dignity, conscious of civic authority, backed by civic funds, and aided by the civic police. How potent a factor this is in sustaining enthusiasm is proved by the experience of the few German towns which have not as yet municipalised their administration of Poor relief. They have been unable, in most instances, to sustain either the enthusiasm of the start, or the standard of activity.

Thus experience makes one somewhat anxious lest the movement in this country should be similarly affected. At present there is no one of our Guilds of Help with an experience sufficiently long to provide a test. It is well, however, that the danger should be foreseen, and, if possible,



## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

averted. It is here that we meet with our heaviest handicap. We can adopt the aims and, largely, the methods of the Elberfeld System ; but, at present, we cannot municipalise our organisation. And yet there is much that we can do to counteract this disadvantage. Every effort should be made to maintain its civic character ; its very name—Citizens' Guild—should stamp it as a citizens' movement ; the mayor should be its President ; representatives of the City Council and Board of Guardians should be members of its Central Administrative Board ; its District meetings should be held in public buildings (in Halifax all are held in Council Schools, freely granted by the Education Authority) ; preliminary meetings should be held, to discuss and explain the objects of the Guild, with Trades' Councils, Friendly Societies, etc. ; everything should be done to ensure the active sympathy of the Board of Guardians and Charity Organisation Society ; every means should be used to secure the loyal support and cordial co-operation of all sections of the community. At the meeting to inaugurate the Halifax Citizens' Guild, the Mayor not only attended, wearing the insignia of his office, but he personally invited all the members of the Corporation to accompany him to the platform ; during the meeting he shook hands with every Captain, and, in the name of his fellow citizens, gratefully acknowledged the service they were about to render. Since then, the Mayor and Mayoress have given a reception in the Town Hall to all Officers, Captains, and Helpers. These courtesies are not only pleasant ; they go far to clothe the movement with the needful civic authority. If these steps be taken, if the appeal for help be absolutely free from any taint of sect or party, if all classes are enrolled in this citizens' army, and the claims of poverty on the service of the citizen be held up as the inspiring motive, much will be done to avert the danger of slackening zeal.

But now arises another difficulty. Where is the money to come from ? The German worker can fall back on city funds ; the English worker can only depend on the fitful and uncertain contributions of private charity. This difficulty—serious at first sight—is, I think, greater in prospect than in reality. Bradford solves it by dispensing

## THE ELBERFELD SYSTEM IN ENGLAND

entirely with any central fund for charitable relief ; and, after a somewhat anxious weighing of the *pros* and *cons*, I have come to the conclusion that Bradford has adopted the wisest course. There are some cases, doubtless, which can only be met by gifts either in money or its equivalent. These are dealt with as the need arises. A list has been prepared by the executive of the Guild, of persons willing to act as "Stand-bys"—persons ready to render the required assistance to specially recommended cases. Halifax—though it has a small fund to meet emergency cases—is now following the example of Bradford. The wisdom of this course will be apparent, when it is remembered that the main objects of these Guilds—as indeed of the Elberfeld System—is, not to give money, but to prevent the necessity for gifts of money. The Helper is advised that his one desire should be, even when dealing with cases of absolute destitution, to help the needy to help themselves, to give neighbourly assistance and counsel in pointing out ways by which this self-help may be assured, and thus encourage, in those whose hope is breaking, a spirit of self reliance. It was a fear that this principle might be endangered that led Bradford, not only to decide at the outset to dispense with a central fund, but to ratify that decision by an almost unanimous vote of the Captains when it had been tested by several months' experiences. It was thought that a Helper, meeting with a difficult case, and knowing he had a fund at his back, might be tempted to take the line of least resistance and adopt the ready expedient of a dole, instead of patiently grappling with the difficulties, until he could find some way to independence and self help. No doubt the simplest way to deal with distress is to give half-a-crown and have done with it. It salves the conscience, and gets rid of responsibility. But the simplest way is the worst ; it rarely relieves, it certainly does not prevent ; and prevention is the grand objective of the Elberfeld System. It would "drain the quagmire." Its root principle is, that personal service, and not almsgiving, is the highest form of charity. With us, charity and almsgiving have been so long and so closely wedded, that it will be difficult to divorce them ; but if the present attempts to Anglicise the Elber-

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

feld System should do no more than this, they will not have been in vain. What our Helpers need is that apostolic courage that could say to a beggar : " Silver and gold have I none, but such as I have give I unto thee." But, coupled with this, must be the apostolic devotion to the nobler service.

It may be said, however, that, whatever be the Elberfeld principle, this is not the Elberfeld practice ; for some of the German cities distribute larger sums than we do in Poor-relief. That is quite true ; but it must be remembered that the German Poor-administration undertakes all the work which with us is done by our Poor-law Guardians. They have to bear the burden of the shiftless poor, even when that shiftlessness has become chronic. These are not cases that should be dealt with by our Guilds of Help ; they must be left in the hands of the Poor-law authorities, so long as our Poor-law remains what it is. In an article which appeared in the *Independent Review* a few months ago, it was shown that, though the wave of unemployment and the wave of pauperism are almost identical in their rise and fall, yet there is always a twelve months' interval before the former and the latter coincide, marking a twelve months' brave struggle with poverty to escape the clutches of pauperism. It is here that our Guilds of Help will step in ; and in this they will be following closely on Elberfeld lines. The chief endeavour of the Elberfeld System is to arrest this down-grade movement in its incipient stages, to block the roads that lead too easily from struggling poverty to hopeless destitution, and thus, before the golden bowl of hope is broken at the fountain, to restore self-confidence and self-respect.

So far the difficulties which confront the attempt to Anglicise the Elberfeld System do not seem insuperable. There is one other, however, which, until we can obtain more stringent laws for dealing with criminal poverty, will always place us at a disadvantage. Germany can draw a much sharper distinction between criminal and deserving poverty than is at present possible with us. Thus, to take a case unfortunately too common in both countries, that

## THE ELBERFELD SYSTEM IN ENGLAND

of the man who brings those dependent on him "upon the rates" by gambling, drink, or idleness. In Germany, the Poor-administration would at once hand over this case to the police; for the first and second offences the man would receive short terms of imprisonment, but for a third he would be detained for two or three years in what is in fact, and not merely in name, a workhouse (*arbeitshaus*), in which he would not only be made to work, but taught a trade. And Germany can have "yet another hold" on a man, of this class. If it is proved that he earns a sufficient wage to support those dependent on him, but that he is dissipating that wage by vicious habits, he can be declared a minor (*entmündigt*); and he is then treated as a child. His employer is told that the wage must be paid, not to the man, but to the wife. When speaking about this to the Director of the *Armenverwaltung* in Cologne, I expressed my fear that, in England, a man who could not get his wage would refuse to work. "In Germany," said my friend, "the police would look after that." How soon Englishmen can be brought to acquiesce in the adoption of similar laws in this country, it is impossible to say; but, until we have greater stringency, the working of the Elberfeld System will be more difficult here than it is abroad.

But, though we may find ways of meeting these difficulties, and indeed discover that they become less as we look into them, it would be unwise to treat them as non-existent. What Germany has been able to do, she has done under conditions which, in some important respects, are very different from ours. The fact that every German city has the entire and unfettered control of its own affairs, has fostered a civic sense too often lacking with us, yet indispensable if this work is to be successful; her people are accustomed to be drilled into obedience, and will submit to laws—many of them excellent, yet laws which our British independence would not brook; their Captains and Helpers are, as a fact, all volunteers, but they know that the law could compel them to render a three years' service; and they know that, while engaged in their work, they will be supported by all the authority of the municipality. Further, by long experience, every city has in its

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

service a band of experts, many of whom have been "carers for the poor" for ten, fifteen, or even thirty years. They have become "discerners of spirits"; they can detect fraud, trace the poverty they see to its secret springs, and thus get behind the mere symptoms; while, in their visitation, they are greatly aided by the fact that in Germany the rich and poor live much more closely together, often in the same tenement block.

These difficulties must be frankly recognised by those who would Anglicise the Elberfeld System; but they should not prove deterrent. We may not be able to adopt German methods in every detail; but we can follow them in their aims, and, in proportion as those aims are kept clearly in view, shall we find the difficulties vanish.

Some of these aims have been indicated already; they may here be summarised.

The chief aim of our Guilds of Help (as it is of the German system) must be to prevent the necessity for the giving of alms, and, even when this is unavoidable, to give in such a way as to influence character. "The giving of alms," says Dr. Münsterberg, "should never obscure the outlook on the future." Very often the keenest sufferings are borne by those whose sorrow is too sacred to be confessed; it is these cases especially that the Guilds will try to reach. But, while using every endeavour to make it easier for the deserving poor to be discovered and helped, they should put forth all their influence to make it harder—and it is hoped impossible—for the idle and undeserving to trade on the charitable impulses of the public. They should act like the two poles of the magnet; with one to attract, with the other to repel. They should seek after the honest, struggling poor, whose poverty—or threatened poverty—is the result of misfortune. These they should try to help in the ways best calculated to restore their independence. All these should be within the pale of their neighbourly ministrations; but, outside of it, are the cadgers, the loafers, the "won't-works," and all those parasites who seek to feed and fatten on charitable doles. To checkmate this class, they should co-operate with all existing charities, in order to prevent overlapping, and, at the same time,

## THE ELBERFELD SYSTEM IN ENGLAND

should strive to awaken public opinion to recognise that personal service is the truest form of charity.

But these Guilds should have a still wider outlook. They should seek to create a neighbourly feeling among all classes of the community, and to deepen the sense of civic responsibility for the care of its poor ; they should shield the oppressed, and put in force all existing laws to prevent the ill-treatment of children, the demoralisation of the young, and the desertion of wives. Yet, still further, each District Committee should consider, not merely individual cases, but the conditions and causes of the poverty within its own area. These should be reported to the Central Board, that the Board may use its influence with public bodies to effect their removal.

The social and moral results which have followed the working of the Elberfeld System in Germany may be looked for here, if these aims be kept clearly in view and faithfully pursued. It is in the education of the citizen that it has been perhaps most beneficial. In the smaller cities, hundreds—and in the larger, thousands—come into almost daily contact with the poor ; they are brought into living touch with the difficulties, the struggles, the temptations, the sorrows, of these brothers and sisters of our Father's family, from whom we are all too widely severed ; and, through these experiences, they become touched with a feeling of their infirmities. This system is training a noble army of men and women for that highest of all service—the bearing of one another's burdens. It was said of Charles Kingsley, by one of his oldest friends :—"There was in him a deep respect for the poor, a positive looking up to them for His dear sake who became poor ; for the good he saw in them ; for the still greater good which he hoped to see and strove that he might see in them." One of the most beautiful results of the working of the Elberfeld System in Germany has been to produce this feeling in a large number of her citizens ; it may be equally expected among our own citizens when that system has found its home with us as it has with them.

A. HOLDEN BYLES

## DARWIN AND MENDEL

**S**INCE the time of Darwin, the two problems which have occupied the minds of biologists beyond all others, have been the Cause of Variation and the Nature of Heredity. Not only is a knowledge of them a necessary part of a complete theory of biology; but it is also of immense practical importance to mankind.

Much has been written in recent years about human degeneracy and the possibility of arresting it; and various schemes have been suggested for the improvement of the race. But until the disease is understood, it is premature to dogmatise about the best means of curing it; remedies may be found which are of greater or less value, but no absolute cure can be expected.

Our ignorance of these questions is illustrated by the proposals which are frequently made for checking the degeneration of our slum population. It is confidently asserted, on the one hand, that the effect of unhealthy living is cumulative from one generation to the next; and, on the other, it is maintained that "acquired characters" are not inherited, and, therefore, what is really needed is a restriction on the marriage of the "unfit." It is evident, therefore, that, for the solution of this problem, a knowledge of heredity is required; and at present, unfortunately, our information is very imperfect.

But although biology is still undecided with regard to the questions which most directly concern mankind, yet in recent years knowledge has been gained which is of great importance to the farmer and stock-breeder. Here actual experiment can be made, yielding answers which admit of no doubt; and yet in most cases, the old methods are

## DARWIN AND MENDEL

still followed, and little account is taken of scientific research.

Above all, the subject is of interest to the thoughtful biologist ; for it lies at the root of the whole study of Evolution. The geological record and the teachings of embryology prove that evolution has taken place ; and Darwin, by the theory of Natural Selection, showed the means by which it may have been brought about. But, until the nature of Variation and Heredity is fully understood, no more than a half-glimpse of the process can be gained.

Darwin frankly acknowledged that of the cause of variation we know nothing, and of the mechanism of heredity we have only hypotheses and that, until we know how, if not why, these things occur, our knowledge in this direction can make little progress.

In recent years attention has been widely turned to the problem ; and at last it appears that the chaos which baffled the earlier observers is being reduced to order. In Darwin's time, the confusion appeared utterly hopeless. When two varieties of animal or plant were crossed, no prediction as to the offspring could be made. In some cases intermediates were produced ; in others totally new forms appeared, or the offspring seemed to revert to far back ancestors. The later generations from the cross broke out into what seemed indiscriminate and lawless variability ; and, from the confusion of forms thus produced, no generalisation could be drawn except that "crossing promotes variation." An example may make this clearer. If a white rat is paired with a black-and-white, it may happen that some or all of the young are grey, hardly distinguishable from the wild progenitor of both varieties. This was called reversion to ancestral type. But pair two of those grey young together, and the offspring will probably include grey, black, white, grey piebald, and black piebald, *i. e.* almost all the types of domestic rats known to the fancier. A few years ago, this was inexplicable ; now the result can be predicted with confidence, so long as the constitutions of the parent rats are known.

Among the first to introduce order into this confusion



## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

was Galton, who measured single characters, and found, so far as possible, how they were inherited in families. He found, in such a case as human stature, for example, that if two parents exceeded the normal stature by a certain amount, their children on the average exceeded the normal height to a less extent, *i. e.* tended to revert to the "mode," or average of the general population. The extent of this reversion was determined by an examination of sufficient data ; and Galton concluded that, in any character, a child obtains half his total heritage from his two parents, a quarter from his grandparents, and so on in geometrical ratio. The more recent work of Pearson has modified these figures to some extent, but has not altered the general result of Galton's conclusions.

It has long been known that inheritance may be of two kinds, "continuous" and "discontinuous," according to the kind of character concerned. Human stature is a typical case of continuous inheritance ; the children on the average will approach the mean between the two parents. But in such a case as eye-colour it is otherwise. If one parent has blue eyes and the other black, the children will as a rule have blue or dark eyes, not intermediates. Galton applied his rule to such cases also, and supposed that, in the same way, half the heritage of all the children came from the parents, a quarter from the grandparents, and a quarter from earlier ancestors. This conclusion is less satisfactory than the corresponding one in the case of continuous variation, such as human stature ; and, when applied to characters which are wholly discontinuous, such for example as albinism, as contrasted with colour, it is undoubtedly not correct.

Galton's work led to a great amount of investigation of heredity by accurate measurement, chiefly in characters which are continuous in their inheritance, *i. e.* in which all intermediates can exist between one extreme and the other. Work of this kind soon showed that often a character which appears at first sight to be discontinuous in nature is not really so, since all intermediates between one extreme and the other exist, although the individuals approaching the mean are very rare compared with those near the extremes.

If a curve or such a form is drawn, in which the ordinates represent the frequency of occurrence and the *abscissæ* the measurement of the character under observation, such a curve has two maxima ("modes") separated by a depression. A curve of this kind would be made by measuring the jaws of a large sample of male stag-beetles; it is found that a large number have quite small jaws, a still larger number very big jaws, and a few, jaws of intermediate sizes.

Facts of this kind have led some workers to deny the existence of discontinuous variation; they say that if enough specimens are collected all the intermediates will be found. This is often true, and may be true even where the character is truly discontinuous as far as its inheritance is concerned. For a character must be held to be discontinuous in its inheritance, if, when the extremes are bred together, no intermediates are produced, even though an intermediate race exists which cannot be produced by pairing together the extremes. For example, a "silver" cat might be considered as intermediate between black and white; but if it is found that a black and a white when paired together do not give silvers, but either blacks only or blacks and whites, then these characters are discontinuous in their inheritance, even though the apparently intermediate silver be known to exist.

- That such discontinuity of inheritance does exist, is now very generally admitted; and it will be seen later that it is possible that all inheritance may turn out to be of that kind, but appear to be continuous through the inclusion of more than one character in one which is supposed to be unitary.

The "biometric" method of investigating heredity deals essentially with averages; and, as such, has done work of very great value. But it does not concern itself with each individual child of a given mating, and explain why that child has the character which it possesses. In this way it is distinguished from the method of the so-called "Mendelian" school, which I now proceed to consider. I propose to compare the two methods later, but point out here that they are not necessarily antagonistic, since they approach the same facts from opposite sides.

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

The "Mendelian" school of investigators sprang suddenly into existence on the re-discovery of Mendel's work in 1900. A number of men had been working at these subjects before that time, but had been unable to penetrate the confusion which had previously baffled Darwin and his contemporaries. In 1900, a paper was unearthed, which had been published in 1866 by Gregor Mendel, a Bohemian monk. It originally appeared in a local journal of small circulation; and, coming as it did when the scientific world was still thinking of little besides the *Origin of Species*, it attracted no attention. But, on its re-discovery in 1900, it immediately became clear that, if the hypothesis put forward by Mendel was true, a simple solution was offered for all the difficulties in which the subject had hitherto been involved.

Mendel adopted the method by which alone such problems can be completely solved, of taking unit characters separately and following their behaviour when crossed in each individual of succeeding generations. He was fortunate in finding a species to work with in which such characters are conspicuous, and at the same time unitary, *i.e.* not composed of sub-characters which can be separated on crossing. His simplest and most convincing work was done on the common pea. He crossed a green-seeded pea with a yellow-seeded, and found that all peas of the first cross were yellow, not differing materially from the yellow parent. When, however, such crossed peas were self-fertilised, three quarters of the peas so produced were yellow, and one quarter green. He then self-fertilised each of these plants, and recorded its offspring separately. He found that all the green peas bred perfectly true, producing nothing but greens; of the yellows one third similarly bred true, while the remaining two thirds gave yellows and greens in the original proportion of 3:1. It appeared, therefore, that, among the offspring of the crossed peas when self-fertilised, one quarter were pure green, one quarter pure yellow, and one half crossed yellow, *i.e.* containing latent green. Since in the first cross the yellow only appeared, he called that colour *dominant*; the green which disappeared in the first cross but reappeared later, he called *recessive*. When, therefore, the original pure dominant was crossed with a recessive,

## DARWIN AND MENDEL

the first cross were all hybrids, showing the dominant character ; when these were self-fertilised or paired *inter se*, one quarter of the young of the second generation were pure dominants, one quarter pure recessives, and one half dominant hybrids which behaved like first crosses when paired *inter se*.

He next paired a hybrid of the first generation with a recessive, and found that half the offspring were dominant hybrids (containing the recessive character latent) and half were recessives which bred true when self-fertilised.

He explained these facts as follows. If the hybrid plant produces germ-cells (egg-cells and pollen grains) half of which bear only the dominant character, and half only the recessive, none bearing both together, and if such germ-cells meet in fertilisation by pure chance, then it will happen that, out of any large number of fertilisations, one quarter will consist of dominant + dominant, one quarter of recessive + recessive, and one half of dominant + recessive. In other words, calling dominant and recessive D and R respectively, if 100 D's are mixed with 100 R's, and then pairs taken out at random, there will be on the average 25 D D, 25 R R, and 50 D R. In the same way, when a hybrid is paired with a pure recessive, if the hybrid produces D and R germ-cells in equal numbers, while the recessive produces only R, the pairs will be D R and R R in equal numbers, *i.e.* half the offspring will be hybrids and half pure recessives.

Mendel proved that there were in peas several other pairs of characters which were inherited in the same way, *i.e.* purple and white flowers, round and wrinkled seeds, etc. ; but that such pairs of characters are wholly independent of one another. If a round yellow pea is crossed with a green wrinkled, in the second generation these forms, and in addition round, green, and yellow wrinkled, will appear, the members of each pair occurring in their proper proportions. A pair of characters of this kind, which can replace one another without affecting other characters, has been called by Bateson a pair of *allelomorphs*. The essential part of Mendel's hypothesis is, that the germ-cell of a hybrid organism can only bear one of a pair

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

of allelomorphs, *i.e.* although both are present in the hybrid only one is borne by each germ-cell, and therefore the germ-cells of a hybrid are pure in respect of any character. Further, since hybrid parents mated together ( $DR \times DR$ ) produce offspring in the ratio of  $1 DD : 2 DR : 1 RR$ , he supposed that half the germ-cells bore one allelomorph (*e.g.* yellow) the other half the other (green). In other words, pure germ-cells of each kind are produced in equal numbers.

The simplicity of this conception of the purity of the germ-cells in respect of allelomorphic characters, is somewhat obscured at first sight by the dominance of one character over the other in the hybrid. This does not always exist; for the crossed form may differ from both the pure parents. An instance of this is the Andalusian fowl, a slate-blue bird which cannot be bred true, since it always throws "wasters," some of which are black, and others white with black splashes. When a black waster is paired with a white, the offspring are all Andalusians; that is to say, the Andalusian is a crossed bird consisting of black  $\times$  splashed white. And when Andalusians are paired together they produce young roughly in the ratio of 2 Andalusian : 1 black : 1 splashed white. Other cases of this kind are also known, of forms which are essentially hybrid, and can never be bred true, since they always throw the pure parent forms.

It is frequently found that, when two dissimilar races are crossed together, the offspring show a "reversion" to an ancestral type. This may be analogous to the blue colour, different from both parent forms, in the Andalusian; but in some cases another explanation has been offered. When a black mouse is crossed with an albino, the offspring are all coloured, since albinism is recessive to colour; but frequently the colour of the crossed mice, instead of being black, is grey, like that of the wild mouse. This used to be considered reversionary; but quite recent work has suggested another explanation. It has been shown that hair colour depends on two factors; and that, if one of them is absent, the animal is albino, but that such an albino bears the other colour-factor latent. If then a black is crossed with an albino bearing

## DARWIN AND MENDEL

latent grey, the offspring will be grey, since that is dominant over black ; and if two such crossed greys are paired together, their children will consist of greys, blacks, and albinos, the coloured mice bearing to the albinos the ratio of 3 : 1.

Such cases introduce complications into the study of heredity which at first are very puzzling ; but, when each is investigated individually, it is commonly found that simple explanations are possible, and we are brought back to the root idea of the purity of the germ-cells wherever simple characters are concerned. That is to say, whenever we are dealing with a pair of unitary characters, one of which can be replaced by the other (such as greenness and yellowness in peas), then, although both are present, either visible or latent, in the hybrid, only one or the other can be caused by each of its germ-cells. This conception enables us to compare an organism with a chemical compound, in which one atom or radical can be replaced by another. As in sodium sulphate the sodium can be replaced by potassium on the  $\text{SO}_4$  radicle by chlorine, so in a green wrinkled pea the green can be replaced by yellow or the wrinkling by roundness, without altering the other characters of the plant. The hybrid plant formed by crossing a green pea with a yellow might be compared to a solution containing two salts, which can exist together in solution ; but when they are crystallised out (in the formation of germ-cells) each crystal is pure.

It now remains to consider how this discovery re-acts on our notions of variation and heredity as a whole. In the first place, in the cases which are known to follow the Mendelian law, the differences are usually comparatively large, and can be sharply distinguished—what Darwin called “single variations” are now more commonly spoken of as “mutations.” Does the law apply also to ordinary variability, to those differences which we speak of as fluctuations? At present no certain answer can be given. Some of these fluctuations are due to environment, and are probably not inherited ; to such the law does not apply. But it is possible that other fluctuating variability may be due to a combination of a number of characters, each of which in itself is Mendelian in its inheritance, *e.g.* if human stature

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

depends on the size of a number of separate bones, each of these might vary discontinuously, and yet the whole might show continuous variation. This, however, is unlikely, since it is known that the different parts of the body vary in sympathy with one another: that is, they are closely correlated. At present, therefore, we have still to distinguish the two kinds of variability, and can only say with confidence that the principle of germ-cell purity applies to the discontinuous form. And, since the biometric methods have been applied chiefly to study continuous variation (fluctuation) there is no necessary opposition between the rival methods. One thing biometric methods may decide is, whether effects of environment on the individual are inherited: a question which has perplexed the minds of biologists for many years. It is conceivable, if unlikely, that fluctuations are due originally to the effects of external conditions, while mutations depend on causes of which we are ignorant, and that the two forms of inheritance result from difference of nature and origin. It is known that environment may exercise an influence on just such kinds of variation as have been most studied by biometric methods, *e. g.* on the number of petals or florets of flowers where the number is not constant; and it has been one of the difficulties in the use of these methods, that allowance has to be made for the effects of environment. It seems possible that all such differences may spring from external conditions; but, until it is proved that these effects can be inherited, this remains a mere supposition.

Of the cause of mutations we know nothing; it is possible that they too owe their ultimate origin to outside influences, but, if so, it is much less directly. We know that more abundant nutrition may increase the number of the petals of a flower as the direct result of added strength. But when an organism "sports" as a result of new environment, the variation seems rather to arise from a disturbance of equilibrium; and the direction which the "sport" will take cannot be predicted.

When we come to consider the practical bearing of recent work on Heredity, we are faced by the two questions touched upon at the outset of this paper. How does it affect the gardener and stock-breeder, and does it offer any

## DARWIN AND MENDEL

hope of human improvement? That it gives new powers of very great value to the breeder, is undoubted; for where a few years ago all was uncertainty, and procedure was based on empirical rules, it is now possible to forecast with confidence, and give reasons for action. New varieties among domestic animals and plants were produced by crossing existing varieties, or by breeding from "sports"; but they were only fixed and made permanent by a laborious process of eliminating "rogues." Now all that is required is to test each individual as to its purity or impurity in respect of any character, and to breed pure specimens together. Further, it is possible to combine valuable characters from different breeds, and to eliminate those which are undesirable, as has already been done after only a few years of work in wheats and other plants. In these directions the new knowledge is of vast practical utility.

But when we come to consider the question of improving our own race, of checking the degeneration with which we are threatened, and breeding the great intellects of which we are in need, the answer must be, that at present we do not know enough. We know that the children of parents sound in mind and body will be healthier in both than children of the weak or feeble-minded; but exactly how such characters are inherited we do not know. With men experiment is impossible; and simple observation can give us averages and probabilities, but never certainties in an individual case. It is certain that a general improvement could be effected if restriction on marriage among the unfit were possible; but, on the practical questions of to-day, biology is not yet ready to speak. We do not know certainly how the ill effects of an unhealthy life in parents re-act on their children; we cannot say with confidence whether such ill effects are cumulative from one generation to another. Common-sense says it is and must be so; exact experiment has hitherto failed to prove it. In this direction empirical rules and common-sense must still be followed, until the time shall come when Science can speak with no uncertain voice.

L. DONCASTER



## THE SHADOW AND THE SUBSTANCE :

### TWO FRENCH PLAYS

**R**ECENT visitors to Paris will have had an opportunity of studying two very different types of modern drama, both admirably played, both dealing with "actual" conditions, both, strange to say, at least in part, the work of the same author. And yet it will hardly be possible for the impartial observer to doubt that, while one is the real thing, the other is but an example of that debased form of art which consists of an appeal to conventional sensations, leading no-whither. The fact that the latter is played by some of the most brilliant actors in Paris, at a subsidised theatre, makes the incident only the more regrettable.

*L'Attentat* of MM. Capus and Descaves, produced at the Gaité, staged with elaborate care, and played with all the advantage of the co-operation of the Coquelins and Mme. Jane Hading, is a mere shadow, in which there are no warmth and no light. Montferran, a rich Socialist deputy, makes a canvassing call at the shop of Marescot, a Communeard of 1870, but now a prosperous and influential citizen. In Marescot, played by M. Coquelin Cadet, we have the one interesting figure of the play. His son, Lazare Marescot, who poses as an anarchist, is engaged by Montferran, purely as a matter of business, to act as his private secretary. Lazare cherishes the usual romantic passion of French youth for a married woman, or, as he supposes her to be, a widow—Madame Legrandier, who has business dealings with his father's firm. In fact, Madame Legrandier is Madame Montferran, but is living apart from her husband, owing to some temporary estrangement. Lazare soon discovers

## THE SHADOW AND THE SUBSTANCE

the true state of affairs ; and from that moment begins to cherish a hatred of his chief. The opportunity of revenge occurs when, at a midnight meeting at Montferran's house, Lazare's father is insulted by a lady of the half-world, whom the gay deputy is entertaining at supper. Seizing the somewhat flimsy pretext, Lazare fires at and slightly wounds Montferran, who retains sufficient presence of mind to advertise himself (through members of the Press conveniently present) as the victim of an anarchist plot, while he also makes use of the incident to complete his pending reconciliation with his wife. A difficulty in his way is the inconvenient acuteness of the magistrate charged with the inquiry into the assault ; but as, in his excitement, Montferran gradually forgets the condition of his wounded arm (this was an admirable piece of acting by M. Coquelin Aîné) the magistrate is inclined to take a discreet view of the case, and Lazare is released. There the play might as well end, for all that remains to be done ; but we have a superfluous Fifth Act, apparently designed for the purpose of showing the futility of the whole story. Lazare is reconciled to following his father's business ; and is consoled with the hand of his pretty cousin, Cécile, whose humbler suitor is conveniently dismissed. The net result is "As you were" ; in fact, a peculiarly French and not very edifying illustration of the advantage of "doing one's duty in that state," etc.

The *Oiseaux de Passage* of MM. Donnay and Descaves is presented at the Théâtre Antoine without any adventitious attractions. Instead of the bewildering series of creations by Messrs. Redfern which signalise the appearances of Mme. Jane Hading in *L'Attentat*, and which seem, indeed, to be the chief *raison d'être* of her part, we have characters whose indifference in the matter of costume is almost religious. It is true that the heroine, played by Mlle. van Doren, makes an apparently unnecessary change of costume in the last Act ; but, as the change is only from formless black to formless white, the concession to femininity may be forgiven. For the rest, the ladies attire themselves for out-of-doors in full view of the audience, with a celerity which would hardly leave a fashionable person time to put

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

on a pair of gloves ; and of toilettes, in the professional sense, there are none. The scenery is severely simple—a room in a modest *pension* by the Lake of Geneva, the bourgeois drawing-room of the Lafarges, and a most garretty garret at a third-rate hotel in the Rue Berthollet, Gobelins. But, at Antoine, the play's the thing, even though the acting be good.

The Lafarges are a composite family, successful bourgeois, consisting of two brothers (Charles and William), Charles' wife and son Julien, the latter just completing his medical studies, and William's two daughters, Louise (the demure) and Georgette (the pert). Madame Lafarge has recently lost her sight ; and her brother-in-law (who is, presumably, a widower) has come, with his daughters, to join the establishment, in order that she shall not be lonely. When the play opens, the household is domiciled in a *pension* near Geneva, which all (except Georgette) find adorable. There are no other occupants of the house ; but, in a sort of annexe belonging to the establishment, are lodging two Russian students, Vera Levanoff and Tatiana. The attention of Julien has already been attracted by Vera ; and his interest is heightened by the early discovery of her identity with a Russian revolutionist who, to escape from paternal despotism, and to place her fortune at the disposal of a revolutionary leader, Prince Boglowsky, has contracted with the latter a purely formal marriage, rudely terminated by the Prince's arrest and imprisonment. Vera's companion, Tatiana, has actually fought by Boglowsky's side, having been mutilated in the struggle of his arrest. She is the revolutionary by devotion, unswerving in her fidelity to "the Cause," and savagely jealous of anything and anybody likely to act as a rival to it. It seems a little doubtful whether the authors of the play intended to make Vera physically attractive, and whether the fascination she exercises over Julien is to be attributed to her opinions or to her beauty ; but as Julien has not chosen, with equal opportunities, to fall in love with Tatiana, whose appearance may be surmised from the nickname of "the Ant" bestowed upon her by the Lafarge circle, we may perhaps assume that physical attractiveness is the controlling influence exercised by Vera. At any

## THE SHADOW AND THE SUBSTANCE

rate, Julien soon falls ardently in love, in typical French fashion.

Inasmuch as the young man's ambitions are honest, the reader will naturally suppose that his first difficulties arise from the objections of his family. But, in the interval between the First and Second Acts, Vera has so won the affection of the Lafarge household (at any rate of the elders) by the devotion and skill with which she has soothed the affliction of Madame Lafarge, that the latter herself joyfully undertakes the task of persuading Vera to become Julien's wife. If this development reads improbable, it is explained on the stage by the gentle sentimentality of the elder Lafarges ; who have, like Julien, been fascinated by the romantic situation as well as by the revolutionary ideas of the refugees. William Lafarge, who has not, apparently, been brought so much into contact with Vera, is at first inclined to be sceptical ; but he is won over by the genuine enthusiasm of his brother, and by the genial philosophy of Gregorieff, the revolutionary father of the Russian girls, whose presentation, said to be modelled on the personality of the well-known agitator Bakounine, is a fine piece of acting. After all, we must remember that Rousseau was accepted by the bourgeoisie ; and if an occasional touch of Philistinism appears, as in the direction not to leave revolutionary documents where the servants may see them, we have to thank the authors of the play for a really touching picture of bourgeois character. Gregorieff is quite delightful, with his portable library, his indifference to money, his faith in humanity, and his gentle banter of conventionalism. To Charles Lafarge, who, with true bourgeois instinct, reproaches him with his wandering habits :

“ Vous n'éprouvez pas le besoin de vous créer un intérieur ” ?—

he replies, untranslatableably,

“ Il est déjà si difficile de se créer un dehors ” ;

and he improves upon the well-known French proverb with the sentiment :

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

“Tout homme a pour patrie la sienne . . . et toutes les autres.”

The opposition which is the keynote of the play comes, in fact, from Tatiana. Apparently, she at first acquiesces in Vera's betrothal; but her sentiments are changed by the advent of Zakharine, a fourth refugee, who professes to give a circumstantial account of the illness and death in prison of Boglowsky, Vera's husband. Vera and Gregorieff place implicit trust in the story; but Tatiana is suspicious, and, when the two girls are left alone, avows her suspicions. Vera is inclined to scoff at her friend's doubts. But Zakharine's recital has revived the revolutionary fervour which has been lulled by the bourgeois milieu; and, in a really wonderful scene, the two girls work themselves up into a state of exaltation by an exchange of memories, culminating in a sort of Review of the Martyrs, whose photographs, huddled together in a cardboard box, are made the subject of a revolutionary epic. Finally Tatiana, bursting into a frenzy which quite transfigures the squalid garret of the hotel, extracts from Vera a promise that the marriage shall not take place for six weeks, and then prepares to start on the track of Zakharine, who has been furnished by Gregorieff with funds for a new “mission.” The final passage of this scene is very effective. Tatiana, drawing from her pocket a wretched photograph which, as she reminds Vera, was taken at a popular fête when they were surrounded by the children of labour and want, thrusts it into Vera's hands with the passionate adjuration:

“Garde-la sur toi jusqu'à mon retour. Si je ne reviens pas . . . promets moi de la mettre avec les autres . . . là . . . dans le tas.”

It is the consecration of the forlorn hope; and Tatiana dashes out into the night. From that moment, we suspect that the marriage with Julien will never take place. As Vera says: “Tu m'as révélée à moi-même.”

At the beginning of the last Act, Vera is still playing her part of fiancée at the Lafarges' house; but, in the con-

## THE SHADOW AND THE SUBSTANCE

trast between her pre-occupation and the amiable fussiness of the Lafarges over the preparations for the wedding, we feel the tragedy of the situation. The first note of the impending doom is struck by Gregorieff, who comes to announce his expulsion from France. During the exchange of polite regrets and philosophical banter consequent upon this announcement, a servant enters to say that a woman demands to see Vera at once. Tatiana! And Tatiana enters hurriedly, astonishing Julien by a warm hand-grasp. The Lafarges discreetly retire; and the refugees face each other. The message which Tatiana brings flashes from her eyes. Boglowsky is alive. Alive, but dying of phthisis in the remotest hell of Siberia, amid the eternal snows and fogs of the forests. Zakharine is a traitor, who has purchased his liberty by turning spy, and who has also accepted the pay of Vera's father to prevent Vera's return to Russia. He has been discovered dead in a railway carriage; and the papers found upon him have told the story. "Suicide?" "Probably," remarks Tatiana, coldly. "*Je me trouvais par hasard dans le même train que lui.*"

This is the crisis. While Tatiana and Gregorieff exchange sentences which reveal the horrors of the situation, Vera stands aside, silent. But the struggle is brief; and we have no doubt as to the result. Tatiana and Gregorieff have been formally proscribed; and return to Russia means, for them, arrest. They are powerless to help. But Vera is technically free; and has the right to rejoin her husband. Her mind is made up. "Gregorieff, we leave Paris together to-night." Gregorieff attempts a feeble remonstrance; but Tatiana wastes no time on forms, and, in the affectionate "Tanioucha" uttered by Vera, we realize that the friends are one at heart again. The sentiment of Pity has triumphed over the sentiment of Love, if Love ever existed; and the woman's heart puts out nobly from the harbour of refuge for the sea of storm and danger.

It is just doubtful whether the play should not end at this point. But the authors were naturally tempted by the possibilities of a final interview between Vera and Julien; and certainly the last Act contains some masterly touches. Julien, truth to say, behaves rather badly; though it may

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

be admitted that there are excuses. And, in the long altercation which takes place between them, we see that Vera's resolution is only strengthening ; while at last Julien forgets himself entirely, and has to be recalled to manhood by his father, who has been summoned by the noise of the struggle. This is a wonderful piece of acting by M. Degeorge, who manages, without uttering a word, and in the course of a few seconds, to put the whole bourgeois case with a dignity and benevolence which are a revelation of Charles' sterling character. The parting which really moves us is that between Vera and Madame Lafarge, whose pitiful blindness has probably been the real attraction to Vera in her connection with the household. To the blind woman's desperate appeal—"If the prince should die," Vera replies : "There are others." And her heroism has its reward ; for it arouses in the older woman's heart an answering strain, in which her affliction becomes a real source of consolation. Desiring that she may "see as the blind do," she passes her hands softly over Vera's face, and then accepts the inevitable with the touching words : "Not for me a bird of passage ; I shall see you always." And Vera, placing her gently in the hands of Louise, glides from the room.

It is not difficult to realise the secret of the success of *Oiseaux de Passage*. The play presents a conflict of ideals ; and conflicting ideals, though not by any means the only source of dramatic situations, are yet among the most frequent and the most powerful provocatives of tragedy. But ideals are dangerous things for a dramatist to handle ; for he is apt to forget that the ideals of humanity are mostly unconscious, and only revealed to the average man in moments of strain or exaltation. Hence, to be recognisable by the public, they must be embodied in individuals ; and these individuals must be framed in familiar surroundings. The dramatist seeking to present an ideal is very apt to create a "type" ; for the type, like the ideal, is abstract, while the characters in a play, to be successful in their appeal to the public, must be concrete. The *Prometheus Vincit*, masterpiece as it is, is not a drama, in the modern sense of the term. It is philosophy or poetry ; and this

## THE SHADOW AND THE SUBSTANCE

is probably what Schlegel was thinking of when he uttered his famous criticism : "The *Prometheus* is not a tragedy ; it is Tragedy itself." The characters of the *Prometheus* are not even "types" ; they are impersonal, elemental forces.

On the other hand, it is a common mistake to suppose that the avoidance of "type" will, of itself, produce a living figure on the stage. This truth is illustrated by the artistic failure of the first of the two plays with which we are concerned. In *L'Attentat*, the characters are not individuals, they are dummies. They mean nothing, and they illustrate nothing, except the assumed necessity for producing a play, and other irrelevances. Doubtless it is quite possible that a given number of human beings might have acted as the characters in *L'Attentat* are represented as acting. We may go further ; and assume that human beings have really so acted. But that fact, if it be a fact, does not make *L'Attentat* a drama, any more than a similar fact makes a photograph a work of art.

For the truth is, that a human being is both a type and an individual, and that the successful artist must make us realise this in his presentment. Nature works by great unswerving laws, with infinite variety of application. In every human being there is a master passion ; and the master passions are few. But in each the master passion shows itself in a different way ; and in this fact lies his individuality. And in some the master passion is more intense than in others ; wherefore, in the former, the variations are less, and the character is simpler. Tatiana is easier to predict than Vera, because the passion of Pity is with her absolutely supreme. Julien, too, is a simple egoist ; and we are never in doubt about him. But with Vera, the feminine clinging to security and domesticity leaves the issue for a while open. She is tempted by the affection of Madame Lafarge, by the desire to pursue her studies, by the suggestion of Julien that in work for the poor of Paris she can satisfy her ideal. It was even open to the authors of the play to commit the artistic error of making her final sacrifice result from the cold conviction of Duty, rather than from the over-mastering sentiment of Pity. That is, perhaps, why the last scene with Julien was necessary,



## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

though at first, as has been hinted, it appears superfluous. For, in the long and painful argument with her lover, Vera comes at last to know herself, and to welcome her fate, not with resignation, but with passionate joy. The formal marriage, so long treated as a mere accident, she now sees in its true light, as a consecration to the career which she adopted in leaving her father's house. And so the call to Siberia comes, not as a death-blow, but as an emancipation.

In conclusion, we cannot but refer once more to the odd fact, that the name of M. Descaves should appear on the title-pages<sup>1</sup> of two such different works as *L'Attentat* and *Oiseaux de Passage*. It may be that M. Descaves in both cases merely supplied the technical stage-craft, while his colleague was the author of the plot. If this be so, we can only wish for him that in future he may collaborate rather with M. Donnay than with M. Capus. But if both works are in any substantial sense the product of his brain, we trust that he will soon abandon the later fashion of *L'Attentat* for the earlier manner of *Oiseaux de Passage*.

<sup>1</sup> *L'Attentat* is not yet, we believe, in print. But the text of *Oiseaux de Passage* has been published by Charpentier et Fasquelle (Paris: 11 Rue Grenelle).

## KAFFIRS AND CONSOLS

**T**HE Stock and Share Market is to some the most interesting and fascinating, to others the most repelling institution of modern commerce. Its origin and growth are concomitant with, and dependent upon, the growth of wealth and the development of international trade. The London Stock Exchange is the type of all similar institutions throughout the world, just as our Parliament is the mother of all Parliaments. Every great Stock Exchange is a microcosm of the trade and finance of the whole world. Or better, to change the metaphor, it is like a small mirror, in which you may see reflected the credit of every government, and the market value of every commercial undertaking. The moralist may deplore the gambling and speculative spirit which pervades the House, and, when the House closes, invades the Street; but if the moralist had money to invest, he would make use of the machinery of the Stock Exchange without suffering the pangs of conscience or the reproaches of his friends. He instructs a banker, perhaps; and the banker instructs a broker; the broker buys the stock required from a jobber; and the transaction is complete.

But a line may be drawn between the investor and the speculator, between the security in which you invest and the security in which you gamble. Some shares are mere counters. Their values are utterly fictitious, or depend upon some remote contingency, the probability of which is unascertained and unascertainable. The ordinary shares in some railways, such as the Great Central in England, or the Grand Trunk in Canada, or the Southern in America, which have never yet paid any dividend, may be regarded as purely speculative securities; indeed the word "security," which

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

literally means "freedom from care," is a singularly improper expression to describe the state of mind of the person who has staked his all in such ventures as those. The characteristics of the highest class of investments—"gilt-edged securities," as they are called—would seem to be, first that their values are the least liable to fluctuation, and, second, that their yield is constant, if small.

The debts of nations which have not been known to repudiate, and are not likely to repudiate their obligations, and the debentures or first preferences of rich and flourishing corporations, are included in this list. First among them, the premier security of the world, stand British Consols. There is an old proverb, that you can sell Consols on a Sunday : as much as to say that Consols are marketable even when there are no markets. Nevertheless, though Consols, as the representative of British credit, are, on the whole, the stablest of all international securities, and bear the lowest interest, they have been at various times subject to great vicissitudes. They are the barometer of our political and financial policy, and mark the rise or fall in the credit of our government. If a government is peaceful, thrifty, and watchful of the real interests of commerce and industry, its credit is likely to rise ; if it is warlike, extravagant, and meddlesome, its credit is likely to fall.

The curious thing about the security of government bonds, as compared with the debentures of a railway company or a great manufactory, is, that the creditor depends for his interest entirely upon the good faith of the government. Except in the case of a small and weak State, which may possibly be bullied out of its dishonesty by a combination of Powers at the instance of financial interests, there is no remedy against a government which chooses to repudiate its obligations. But there is a reason why the poorest and most unscrupulous government will, from motives of self-interest, endeavour to keep on good terms with its creditors ; for, if it commits an act of bankruptcy, it is not likely to be able to borrow again. Moreover, governments very often have nothing whatever to show for their debt. Great Britain, for example, has a total debt of nearly 800 millions, for which there is practically nothing

## KAFFIRS AND CONSOLS

to show except a number of fortifications, mostly obsolete or of doubtful value, and entailing heavy annual expenditure. Similarly, a mere fraction of the huge debt of France has been incurred for reproductive undertakings ; but, as the greater part of that debt is held in small amounts by the French people, the continued payment of interest is hardly less certain than the continued existence of one of the two oldest and richest civilisations of Western Europe.

A national debt, then, is not national capital. Capital means wealth used for productive purposes. Our own National Debt represents the public misfortunes and destructive undertakings of seven generations. The debt of a manufacturing company or of a mine, on the other hand, is, or should be, capital in the true sense. It represents the money spent in procuring land and machinery, and in constructing or purchasing the necessary works. If the enterprise fails, the holder of the debentures will get his share of the visible assets. All this goes to show how strange a being credit is, how much it depends upon opinion, how little upon tangible things, how much more important in this sphere of finance faith may be than works. At first sight, a mine would appear to be a fairly solid and substantial form of wealth; a general promise by a government to pay vast sums on money lent for a foolish and disastrous war would not seem very tempting to investors. Yet gold mines, especially in the Transvaal, are (rightly) regarded as highly speculative counters, while Consols are regarded (rightly) as the finest security in which trustee funds can be invested.

But, when all has been said, it remains true that the prices of Consols and Kaffirs depend upon the unchangeable law of supply and demand. If the supply of either is diminished, and the demand remains constant, then prices will rise ; if the demand for either is diminished, and the supply remains constant, prices will fall. If, at one and the same time, Sir Michael Hicks Beach had issued a war loan, and Mr. Rhodes had asked the public to subscribe to fresh issues of mining shares, Consols and Kaffirs would both have moved downwards, other things being equal. As a matter of fact, if one compares Stock Exchange prices at

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

this time with Stock Exchange prices in 1898, nothing is more striking than the great fall which has taken place in the value of Consols, unless it is the still greater depreciation of Kaffirs.

The low prices of Kaffirs and Consols have been attracting much attention, as well they may, considering the enormous sums which have been lost. And many curious explanations have been advanced. Within the limits of this article, only a very brief examination of the facts and of their causes is possible; but enough space may perhaps be found to dispel some popular errors, and to provide materials for a more precise and accurate judgment upon two great questions which have an intimate bearing upon public policy. The large movements that have caused so much interest and dismay are recent. Let me start from the year 1898, and begin with Consols. First of all, it will be well to see how Consols, and a few other government securities, have behaved during the period in question; and for this purpose the following Table will be instructive:

Mean Prices of	1898	1904	1905
British 2½ per cents.	106	88	89½
French 3 " "	101	96	98½
German 3 " "	97	89	89
Italian 5 " "	86	100	104½
Spanish 4 " "	69	83	92

This Table at any rate effectually disposes of a theory sometimes put forward by apologists of the late Government, in response to the taunt that it might be doubtful whether Mr. Balfour meant to give the country dear bread or not, but that it was quite certain he had given her cheap Consols. The theory in question is, that the fall in Consols was only part of an international movement. If there was any international tendency to lower prices, its measure may be found in the fall of about 2½ per cent. in French Rentes. It will be seen that Italy has an improvement of 18 points to set off against our decline of 16, while Spanish Fours

## KAFFIRS AND CONSOLS

have actually risen 23 points in seven years. This marvellous improvement in Spanish and Italian credit is to be ascribed, as I have had occasion to point out elsewhere, to a policy of peace and retrenchment. By abandoning ruinous colonial wars, and by great reductions of armaments, both countries have been able to improve their currency and credit. If our course has been the opposite, is it not probable that by reverting, as they have done, to a less ruinous rate of expenditure, we might achieve similarly satisfactory results? Another favourite theory is, that the fall of Consols is due to municipal borrowing. This again must be dismissed; for there has been less municipal borrowing since 1900 than there was before. Others declare, that Consols have fallen because the area of trustee investments has been enlarged. If that were so, there should have been a demand transferred from the old investment stocks to the new. But this does not appear to have happened; for the new trustee securities have fallen quite as much as Consols.

The real explanation of the fall in Consols is to be found in the history of the National Debt and of taxation since 1898. The aggregate gross liabilities of the State, including unfunded debt and what is called Works Debt, amounted, in the financial year 1898-9, to £635,000,000, being the lowest on record since the early stages of the Napoleonic war. But, for the financial year 1904-5, the aggregate liabilities of the State had risen to £796,000,000, which again shows a rise of almost exactly 20 per cent. So that the relationship between the price of Consols and the size of the National Debt, in years when there are large movements, appears to be as close as the most scientific theorist could desire. While the Debt, *i.e.* the supply of Consols, was largely increased by the war, the power of the British public to invest, and therefore the demand for Consols, was diminished, owing to the large increase of taxation. In the last two or three years, the amount of the debt and the price of Consols have been almost stationary, and the bulk of the war taxes remains. Since 1900, pauperism has steadily grown; rates of wages have as steadily diminished. I will leave this part of the subject with two remarks. The first is, that the policy of the late Government in increasing

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

armaments, in borrowing for military and naval works, and, consequently, in failing altogether to reduce the National Debt at the very time when its reduction was most needed, is likely to be remembered as the most pitiful chapter in the whole history of British finance. My second is to congratulate the new Chancellor of the Exchequer on being able to show in his first Budget a reversion to a better tradition, so far at any rate as concerns the National Debt.

The case of "Kaffirs" must receive even more summary treatment. When the war began, Kaffirs went up with a bound, while Consols went down. The following Table is surely a very curious one. It gives the prices of five representative securities at three different dates. The first is just before the outbreak of the war, when it was feared by the lords of the Rand that peace might yet be preserved. The second is in the first moment of exultation. They had got what they wanted—a short war at the expense of British taxpayers, which would hand over the Transvaal to the mining interest. The third date is the beginning of the end of the illusion.

	Oct. 3, 1899	Oct. 20, 1899	Jan. 31, 1900
East Rand	$4\frac{7}{8}$	$7\frac{1}{4}$	$5\frac{5}{8}$
Rand Mines	$27\frac{1}{2}$	$38\frac{1}{4}$	$30\frac{3}{4}$
Goldfields	$5\frac{1}{4}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$	$6\frac{3}{16}$
Charteredds	$2\frac{5}{16}$	$3\frac{1}{8}$	3
Modders	$7\frac{1}{2}$	$10\frac{1}{2}$	$7\frac{7}{8}$

There is before me as I write another Table, showing the highest and lowest prices of these five representative counters, in each year from 1900 to 1905 inclusive. In 1900 and 1901, prices fluctuated enormously, but were never very low; hopes being always entertained that the war was about to end, and a period of unexampled prosperity for the mines about to begin. Thus Modders varied from  $13\frac{1}{8}$  to  $6\frac{7}{8}$ , Rand Mines (having been subdivided) from  $11\frac{3}{16}$  to  $7\frac{3}{16}$ , and Charteredds from  $3\frac{1}{4}$  to  $2\frac{5}{8}$ . When peace came in 1902, and Consols for a moment touched 97, there

## KAFFIRS AND CONSOLS

was a grand fermentation in Kaffirs. Modderfonteins jumped up to  $14\frac{1}{8}$ , East Rand to  $10\frac{1}{8}$ , Rand Mines to  $13\frac{1}{8}$ , Goldfields to  $10\frac{1}{8}$ , and Chartereds to  $4\frac{1}{2}$ . Then came the slump. But the curious thing is that, even after the slump, prices were better than they have been since the introduction of Chinese labour. It was solemnly declared that, with Chinese labour, the golden days of Kruger would return. But, in 1903, mining shares stood rather higher than in 1904. And in 1905, when all the advantages of Chinese labour were being reaped, prices drooped and drooped, until those who had bought at the top found they had lost more than half the sums they had staked on the advice of almost all the financial organs of London. The warning of one wise and courageous mentor, the *Investors' Review*, fell upon deaf ears. In 1905, the lowest prices of the four mines were as follows— $6\frac{3}{4}$ ,  $6\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $7\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $5\frac{1}{4}$ ; and Chartereds were quoted at  $1\frac{1}{2}$ . Yet even the worst prices of 1905 have been shown, by a mining expert in *The Tribune*,<sup>1</sup> to be rather above than below the real value. In the middle of March, 1906, East Rand were  $4\frac{3}{4}$ , Rand Mines  $5\frac{3}{4}$ , Goldfields  $4\frac{1}{2}$ , and Modderfonteins  $6\frac{3}{4}$ . The expert I have quoted showed that, in a great number of cases, even those Transvaal gold mines which pay high dividends cannot, at their present prices, be regarded as promising investments, when proper allowance has been made for the exhaustion of the ore. For, in the case of a mine, every dividend of course means a reduction in capital value.

FRANCIS W. HIRST

<sup>1</sup> March 16, 1906.



## THE DESERT

**I**T is now just over a year ago since I lay upon the crest of a range whose name I have never seen spelt, but which is pronounced "Haucedja," from whence a man can see right away for ever the expanse of the Sahara.

It is well known that Mount Atlas and those inhabited lands where there is a sufficient rainfall and every evidence of man's activity, the Province of Africa, the plateaux which are full of the memories of Rome, end abruptly towards the sun, and are bounded by a sort of cliff which falls sheer upon the desert. On the summit of this cliff I lay and looked down upon the sand. It was impressed upon my mind that here was an influence quite peculiar, not to be discovered in any other climate of the world ; that all Europe received that influence, and yet that no one in Europe had accepted it save for his hurt.

God forbid that any man should pretend that the material environment of mankind determines the destiny of mankind. Those who say such things have abandoned the domain of intelligence. But it is true that the soul eagerly seeks for and receives the impressions of the world about it, and will be moved to a different creed or to a different poetry, according as the body perceives the sea or the hills or the rainless and inhuman places which lie to the south of Europe ; and certainly the souls of those races which have inhabited the great zone of calms between the Trade Winds and the Tropics, those races which have felt nothing beneficent, but only something awful and unfamiliar in the earth and sky, have produced a peculiar philosophy.

It is to be remarked that this philosophy is not atheist ; those races called Semitic have never denied either the

## THE DESERT

presence or the personality of God. It is, on the contrary, their boast that they have felt His presence, His unity, and His personality, in a manner more pointed than have the rest of mankind ; and those of us who pretend to find in the Desert a mere negation, are checked by the thought that within the Desert the most positive of religions have appeared. Indeed, to deny God has been the sad privilege of very few in any society of men ; and those few, if it be examined, have invariably been men in whom the power to experience was deadened, usually by luxury, sometimes by distress.

It is not atheist, but, whatever it is, it is hurtful, and has about it something of the despair and strength of atheism. Consider the Book of Job, consider the Arab Mohammedan, consider the fierce heresies which besieged the last of the Romans in this Province of Africa, and which tortured the short history of the Vandals ; consider the modern tragedies which develope among the French soldiers to the north and to the south of this wide belt of sand ; and you will see that the thing which the Sahara and its prolongation produce is something evil, or at least to us evil. There is in the idea running through the mind of the Desert an intensity which may be of some value to us if it be diluted by a large admixture of European tradition, or if it be mellowed and transformed by a long process of time, but which, if we take it at its source and inspire ourselves directly from it, warps and does hurt to our European sense.

It may be taken that whatever form truth takes among men will be the more perfect in proportion as the men who receive that form are more fully men. The whole of truth can never be comprehended by anything finite ; and truth as it appears to this species or to that is most true when the type which receives it is the healthiest and the most normal of its own kind. The truth as it is to men is most true when the men who receive it are the healthiest and the most normal of men. We in Europe are the healthiest and most normal of our kind. It is to us that the world must look for its headship ; we have the harbours, the continual presence of the sea through all our politics ; we have that high differentiation between the various parts

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

of our unity which makes the whole of Europe so marvellous an organism ; we alone change without suffering decay. To the truth as Europe accepts it I cannot but bow down ; for if that is not the truth, then the truth is not to be found upon earth. But there comes upon us perpetually that " wind of Africa " ; and it disturbs us. As I lay that day, a year ago, upon the crest of the mountain, my whole mind was possessed with the influence of such a gale.

Day, after day, after day, the silent men of the desert go forward across its monotonous horizons ; their mouths are flanked with those two deep lines of patience and of sorrow which you may note to-day in all the ghettos of Europe ; their smile, when they smile, is restrained by a sort of ironic strength in the muscles of the face. Their eyes are more bright than should be eyes of happy men ; they are, as it were, inured to sterility ; there is nothing in them of that repose which we Westerners acquire from a continual contemplation of deep pastures and of innumerable leaves ; they are at war, not only among themselves, but against the good earth ; in a silent and powerful way they are also *afraid*.

You may note that their morals are an angry series of unexplained commands, and that their worship does not include that fringe of half-reasonable, wholly pleasing things which the true worship of a true God must surely attain. All is as clear cut as their rocks, and as unfruitful as their dry valleys, and as dreadful as their brazen sky ; " thou shalt not " this, that, and the other. Their god is jealous ; he is vengeful ; he is (awfully present and real to them ! ) a vision of that demon of which we in our happier countries make a jolly legend. He catches men out and trips them up ; he has but little relation to the Father of Christian men, who made the Downs of South England and the high clouds above them.

The good uses of the world are forgotten in the Desert, or fiercely denied. Love is impure ; so are birth, and death, and eating, and every other necessary part in the life of a man. And yet, though all these things are impure, there is no lustration. We also feel in a genial manner that this merry body of ours requires apology ; but those others

## THE DESERT

to the south of us have no toleration in their attitude ; they are awfully afraid.

I have continually considered, as I have read my history, the special points in which their influence is to be observed in the development of Europe. It takes the form of the great heresies ; the denial of the importance of matter (sometimes of its existence) ; the denial that anything but matter exists ; the denial of the family ; the denial of ownership ; the over-simplicity which is peculiarly a desert product runs through all such follies, as does the rejection of a central and governing power upon earth, which is again just such a rebellion as the Desert would bring. I say the great heresies are the main signs of that influence ; but it is in small and particular matters that you may see its effect most clearly.

For instance, the men of the Desert are afraid of wine. They have good reason ; if you drink wine in the desert you die. In the desert, a man can drink only water ; and, when he gets it, it is like diamonds to him, or, better still, it is like rejuvenation. All our long European legends which denounce and bring a curse upon the men who are the enemies of wine, are legends inspired by our hatred of the thing which is not Europe, and that bounds Europe, and is the enemy of Europe.

So also with their attachment to numbers. For instance, the seventh day must have about it something awful and oppressive ; the fast must be seven times seven days, and so forth. We Europeans have always smiled in our hearts at these things. We would take this day or that, and make up a scheme of great and natural complexity, full of inter-lacing seasons ; and nearly all our special days were days of rejoicing. We carried images about our fields further to develope and enhance the nature of religion ; we dedicated trees and caves ; and the feasts of one place were not the feasts of another. But to the men of the Desert mere unfruitful number was a god.

Then again, the word, especially the written word, the document, overshadows their mind. It has always had for them a power of something mysterious. To engrave characters was to cast a spell ; and when they seek for some

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

infallible authority upon earth, they can only discover it in the written characters traced in a sacred book. All their expression of worship is wrought through symbols. With us, the symbol is clearly retained separate from that for which it stands, though hallowed by that for which it stands. With them, the symbol is the whole object of affection.

On this account you will find in the men of the desert a curious panic in the presence of statues, which is even more severe than the panic they suffer in the presence of wine. It is as though they said to themselves : "Take this away, if you leave it here I shall worship it." They are subject to possession.

Side by side with this fear of the graphic representation of men or of animals, you will find in them an incapacity to represent them well. The art of the iconoclasts is either childish, weak, or, at its strongest, evil.

And especially among all these symptoms of the philosophy from which they suffer is their manner of comprehending the nature of creation. Of creation in any form they are afraid ; and the infinite Creator is on that account present to them almost as though he were a man, for when we are afraid of things we see them very vividly indeed. On this account you will find in the legends of the men of the Desert all manner of fantastic tales incomprehensible to us Europeans, wherein God walks, talks, eats, and wrestles. Nor is there any trace in this attitude of theirs of parable or of allegory. That mixture of the truth and of a subtle unreal glamour which expands and confirms the truth, is a mixture proper to our hazy landscapes, to our drowsy woods, and to our large vision. We, who so often see from our high village squares soft and distant horizons, mountains now near, now very far, according as the weather changes : we, who are perpetually feeling the transformation of the seasons, and who are immersed in a very ocean of manifold and mysterious life, we need, create, and live by legends. The line between the real and the imaginary is vague and penumbral. We are justly influenced by our twilights ; and our imagination teaches us. How many deities have we not summoned up to inhabit groves and lakes :

## THE DESERT

special deities who are never seen, but yet have never died.

To the men of the Desert, doubt and beauty mingled in this fashion seem meaningless. That which they worship they see and almost handle. In the dreadful silence which surrounds them, their illusions turn into convictions : the haunting voices are heard : the forms are seen.

Of two further things, native to us, their starved experience has no hold ; of nationality (or, if the term be preferred, of "The City") and of what we have come to call "chivalry." The two are but aspects of one thing without a name ; but that thing all Europeans possess, nor is it possible for us to conceive of a patriotism unless it is a patriotism that is chivalric. In our earliest stories, we honour men fighting odds. Our epics are of small numbers against great ; humility and charity are in them, lending a kind of magic strength to the sword. The Faith did not bring in that spirit, but rather completed it. Our boundaries have always been intensely sacred to us. We are not passionate to cross them save for the sake of adventure ; but we are passionate to defend them. In all that enormous story of Rome, from the dim Etrurian origins right up to the end of her thousand years, the Wall of the Town was more sacred than the limits of the Empire.

The men of the Desert do not understand these things. They are by compulsion nomad, and for ever wandering ; they strike no root ; their pride is in a mere expansion ; they must colonise or fail ; nor does any man die for a city.

As I looked from the mountain, I thought the Desert which I had come so far to see had explained to me what hitherto I had not understood in the mischances of Europe. I remained a long while looking out upon the glare.

But when I came down again, northward from that high sand-stone hill, and was in the fields again near running water, and drinking wine from a cup carved with Roman emblems, I began to wonder whether the Desert had not put before my mind, as they say it can do before the eye of the traveller, a mirage.

Is there such an influence ? Are there such men ?

H. BELLOC

## ARCHBISHOP TEMPLE<sup>1</sup>

**B**IOGRAPHY on the co-operative system is a somewhat novel experiment. In the present volume, the life of Archbishop Temple has been divided into chronological sections, each of which (except the first) has been undertaken by a writer well acquainted with the man and his work during the period which it occupies. The Memoir of the Archbishop's earlier years is dealt with by Canon J. M. Wilson, the Education Office period by Dr. Roby, the Rugby Memoir by Mr. F. E. Kitchener, the Exeter Episcopate by Archdeacon Sandford, the London period by Archdeacon Bevan, the diocesan work at Canterbury by Archdeacon Spooner, and the Primacy by the Bishop of Bristol.

If what is required is a minute and accurate account of the life and doings of a prominent Churchman, the plan has everything to commend it. The book is written with a detail and fullness of knowledge that could hardly have been otherwise obtained. And the result will, no doubt, be particularly satisfactory to clergymen and others specially interested in any particular section of the book. The clergy of Devon and Cornwall will not complain that the Archbishop's work at Exeter has been unduly overshadowed by the larger interests of London and the Primacy; while Dr. Roby's account of his work under the Privy Council will possess a permanent value as a record of the succession of experiments out of which a national system of education has emerged, or is just on the point of emerging. From the point of view of the more general reader, the

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Archbishop Temple*. By Seven Friends. Edited by E. G. Sandford, Archdeacon of Exeter. London: Macmillan and Co., 1906.

## ARCHBISHOP TEMPLE

result is perhaps less completely satisfactory. The plan involves some repetition; the book is somewhat overweighted with detail; and the literary skill of the writers is not equal. The most obvious redundancy is Archdeacon Sandford's long preamble on the previous history of the bishops of Exeter; while his constant parallels between Archbishop Temple and this or that medieval prelate will prove irritating, rather than illuminating, to readers less imbued than the dwellers in Cathedral closes with the spirit of ecclesiastical hero-worship. On the whole, each writer has done his duty respectably; but the reader who wants to know about Temple as a man will find Dr. J. M. Wilson's well-written "Memoir of Earlier Years," and Archdeacon Sandford's "Editor's Supplement," on "Frederick Temple"—"not the official career but the personality"—the most interesting portions of the book.

It would probably have been impossible for any literary skill to have made out of the Archbishop's life quite so interesting and readable a narrative as Mr. Arthur Benson's account of his father, or Mrs. Creighton's Life of her husband. Archbishop Benson and Bishop Creighton were eminently complex and many-sided characters; Temple's leading characteristics were straightforwardness, directness, and simplicity: He was too busy a man to write unnecessary letters; too little of the litterateur to write just for the pleasure of self-expression. Long extracts from charges and speeches on forgotten occasions do not make the liveliest of reading—all the more so when strong good sense and sincerity are their leading features. The work contains few "revelations"; no indiscretions. The book, possibly the life which it records, is a little wanting in charm. To this generalisation there is, however, an exception. Temple's letters to his mother, as schoolboy, undergraduate, and young don, are at once a most interesting record of his own mental evolution, and a most touching picture of affectionate confidence between a very able son and a by no means intellectual or well-educated mother.

The main facts about Temple's early life had become fairly well known before his death. He was the son of a very poor Cornish officer, who was employed between 1820



## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

and 1830 in the Ionian Islands; and who, after a short return to England, went out (without his wife and family) as Governor of the "white man's grave" at Sierra Leone, where he died. The future Archbishop was born at Santa Maura in 1821. On the father's first return to England, he settled on a little farm at Axon in Devonshire, where his wife and family continued to live during his absence in Africa, and after his death. All the Archbishop's early education he owed to his mother, who could only hear him say Euclid and the Latin Grammar by heart, and mark wrong answers in arithmetic by means of a "key." He went to Blundell's School, Tiverton, at the age of thirteen, unable to construe the simplest Latin. Five years at Tiverton enabled him to go up to Oxford as a Blundell Scholar of Balliol, "a first-rate mathematician with a much smaller stock of classics." Nevertheless, he obtained a "mention" for the "Ireland," as well as a double first.

After a few years spent as a resident Fellow and Mathematical Lecturer at Balliol, Temple became, in 1848, Examiner in the Education Office, and, from 1849 to 1855, Principal of Kneller Hall, an institution which the Government set up for the training of workhouse schoolmasters. The institution was not properly supported by the authorities. Every fresh Cabinet had a new policy about Poor Law Education; and ultimately Temple found it necessary to resign—an unpromising beginning for a great career. But the number of public men with whom this strange adventure brought him into contact, was perhaps an advantage to him when he stood for the head-mastership of Rugby in 1857. Before going to Rugby, he had committed himself to writing, in *Essays and Reviews*, the article on the "Education of the World" which turned his nomination to the Bishopric of Exeter in 1869 into an ecclesiastical scandal of the deepest dye. The Essay had been solemnly condemned by the Convocation of Canterbury, not only on account of the offensive company in which it was found, but on account of a supposed tendency to deny the Divinity of Christ. The theological trumpets sounded an alarm. It was with difficulty that the Chapter of Exeter were induced (largely through the exertions

of Canon Cook) to elect the nominee of the Crown by a majority of 13 to 6. It was with difficulty that three bishops were got together to consecrate the man whom all orthodox England considered a dangerous heretic. Protests from several bishops were received by Bishop Jackson, who was acting in place of Archbishop Tait, on the day of the consecration. With admirable sense of honour and strength of purpose, Temple refused to make the slightest explanation, still less withdrawal, until after his consecration. Then he withdrew the Essay, but not the opinions which he had expressed in it. His Bampton Lectures may be regarded as a sort of defence, and at the same time explanation, of his Essay. Conservative as they were, they contain far bolder statements than anything written by him in *Essays and Reviews*. It is a proof of the enormous advance of the ecclesiastical mind between 1869 and 1884, that the publication of the Bampton Lectures created no scandal; nor was there any renewal of ecclesiastical "alarums and excursions" on Temple's appointment, either to London in 1885, or to Canterbury in 1896.

The impression which the life gives one of sheer goodness and colossal strength of will is almost overwhelming. If the Anglican Church were given to canonisation, Temple would have as good a claim to that distinction as any Archbishop who has occupied the chair of St. Augustine since the time of Edmund Rich. But Archbishop Temple would be less likely to attain to such a distinction. He lacked the charm and the sweetness which are commonly associated with the saintly character, as understood in modern times; but besides a deep piety and intense devotion to duty, he possessed the robust virtues too, virtues often lacking in what is commonly called the "saintly character." He had the strong sense of justice which earned him the now famous compliment from the Rugby boy, who pronounced Temple "a beast, but a just beast." He was eminently honest; and his honesty included intellectual honesty. Devoted, heart and soul, to his profession, more at heart of a clergyman than a schoolmaster, he was extraordinarily free from all the littlenesses and the affectations which are the besetting sins of the clerical character. The

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

brusqueness of which so many stories are told, amounting even at times to real discourtesy, was indeed a defect of character, and not merely of manner. Or perhaps it may be described as an intellectual defect. Temple could not understand, at all events he could not remember on the spur of the minute, what were likely to be the feelings of an inferior at being snubbed by a bishop. And, to do him justice, he was just as likely to snub a duke as a curate. But, so far from this defect being an evidence of real want of heart, it is made particularly evident by the facts that Temple was of an exceptionally sympathetic nature. There is a story that, at some clerical gathering, an aged incumbent ventured to remonstrate with the new Bishop of London on the way in which he treated his clergy. It is said that Temple declared that he was very sorry, but that he really could not help it, and burst into tears. The story is not to be found in these pages ; but there are many indications that with this exceptionally strong man tears were very near the surface. Not only was he singularly capable of sympathy and deep feeling ; he was not even, it appears, exceptionally severe. As a schoolmaster, he commanded affection as well as respect ; he was not even, it would seem, a particularly stern or awe-inspiring headmaster. "You should not frighten the boys so," was a favourite remark of his to young masters inclined to excess of zeal. Strong man as he was, he was almost free (but for the defects of manner) from the characteristic failings of strong men. He was not over-eager to impose his will on others, and was tolerant of remonstrance and opposition.

Next to his goodness, the most remarkable thing about him was his extraordinary capacity for work. As an undergraduate, his industry was prodigious. He got up at 5, and worked, with an interval for Chapel and breakfast, till 3, and again in the evening from 7.30 to 10. At Rugby, he added immense labours in connection with the Commission on Secondary Education, to the work of a headmaster ; on one occasion he worked at a Report continuously for seventeen hours, taking his meals meanwhile. It is an extraordinary fact, that a man of such immense physical strength should, in early manhood, have been unable

## ARCHBISHOP TEMPLE

to effect an insurance on his life. He suffered from some weakness of the heart, though it was only the great strain of his last speech on the Education Bill in the House of Lords, at the age of 81, which at last caused it to give way.

Temple's life was an instance—in this country more common than in others—of enormous intellectual powers devoted to practical activity, and a practical activity which spent itself almost entirely upon a mass of small details. In one way he was, indeed, very unlike the type of practical man with which, in our eminent lawyers and prelates, we are so familiar. Largely owing to the stock of reading—going far beyond what was required for the school and for teaching purposes afterwards—which he had laid up in early life, he had arrived at clearly thought-out opinions on fundamental questions—theological, political, educational—opinions which were neither narrow nor ill-informed. He was eminently what is called a “sensible man”; but of him it must be said that, “like most sensible men, he was not over-wise.” His habit of referring to principles in his treatment of detailed questions, gives his utterances an interest which is rarely to be found in the deliverances, on more or less speculative subjects, of the able practical men who give up study at twenty-five.

It is difficult to summarise the results of a life of this kind. They survive in a mass of small social improvements, and a diffused influence on hundreds of minds, of schoolmasters and Rugby pupils whose characters he formed, clergymen whom he stimulated into more, or more intelligent, activity, obscure people whose lives were the better for his Confirmation addresses, diocesan organisations which he started, improvements of educational machinery which he suggested to Governments and Royal Commissions, or introduced into his own school. Kneller Hall, indeed, proved in the end a false start, through no fault of Temple; but, during his years there and afterwards, scarcely any one man exercised a larger influence on the educational policy of the country, both as regards primary and secondary schools. Both at Kneller Hall and at Rugby, he was rather, it would appear, a great ruler than an exceptionally great teacher. As a teacher he could not but have been impressive;

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

but he stimulated and influenced character more than intellect, he organised better than he taught. His special work at Rugby was the introduction of modern subjects into the old classical curriculum, a matter in which he set the example afterwards followed by other Public Schools. At Exeter, he succeeded a prelate (the aged Phillpotts) whose belief in the power and dignity of the successors of the Apostles was much greater than his disposition to imitate their labours ; there were consequently great arrears of work to be attended to. Of episcopates like Temple's, whether at Exeter or in London, it is difficult to say more than that no bishop ever worked harder, and few, if any, with more success. The extent to which he allowed the Ritualists to have their head was the result, not of sympathy, but of deliberate policy. "I believe the true *spiritual* hold of the Church of England to reside in her non-discipline." Attempts at legal repression, which public opinion would not allow to be carried out *à outrance*, only stimulated, he thought, the zeal without knowledge of the Romanisers. The biographers ought perhaps to have recognised that in this direction he went beyond other bishops ; and it is historically doubtful whether the exceptional effluences of Ritualism at Plymouth and in London were not due to his policy. The chief feature of his short Primacy was, perhaps, the establishment of the House of Laymen, and the arrangement of joint sittings of the two Convocations ; the importance of these measures, for good or evil, lies wholly in their possible further developments. An Archbishop of Canterbury's work is, to a great extent, what he likes to make it. Archbishop Benson liked writing letters with a touch of the Papal rescript about them. Temple left many letters unanswered, and devoted himself largely to preaching and giving addresses in various parts of the country on practical subjects, especially on Temperance. In some quarters he will be longest remembered as the teetotal Archbishop.

One of the biographers suggests that "it is a mistake to imagine that the essential thing in Temple's nature was practical directness ; he eventually gave himself to public affairs and practical life because he schooled himself to them ; but his earlier love was in deeper things, and Jowett and

## ARCHBISHOP TEMPLE

others were disposed to think that his ultimate choice of official life was a renunciation of high possibilities" (II. p. 434). If the suggestion is that Temple had any great natural capacity for speculative philosophy or theology, the book does not seem to bear out the suggestion. Everywhere we meet with evidence of a powerful mind and a sober judgment; but there are few traces of high originality or literary brilliancy. It is true that, in earlier life, Temple was fond of philosophy. He had a great belief in Kant, and started (jointly with Jowett) a translation of Hegel's *Logic*, which both of them simultaneously abandoned, having arrived at the conclusion (so the story runs) that it was nonsense, though Canon Wilson tells us merely that "as this work proceeded, Temple became less attracted to Hegel, and finally rejected his system, and went back to Kant" (I. p. 78 *note*). Temple had a strong sense of the necessity of thinking things out, and was an exceedingly honest searcher after truth. Under the influence of "ideal" Ward, he was, as an undergraduate, strongly attracted by the Tractarian movement. But there was always a difference between him and other Tractarians: he was never quite carried off his legs by "the movement." And, after he became, theologically and politically, a Liberal (as it was then considered), the Tractarian influence had still left its mark upon him. He was at once too practical and too keen a thinker to be satisfied with the nebulosities of Stanley, or even of Jowett. He felt the need of strong and clear-cut convictions; and he had a strong sense of the value of order and discipline, of Church observances and Church organisations. His views about such matters as Orders and the Sacraments were no longer those of a High Churchman; but they were not those which are commonly associated either with Low or with Broad Churchmen. His opinions were settled early; and, though he was always open-minded, he, on the whole, adhered to them throughout life. He recognised, in a general way, the necessity of welcoming critical results; but it may be doubted whether, in his later years, he kept pace with the progress of Biblical study, or realised the extent to which its results required the modification of traditional opinions. There is no reason to believe

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

that he would, in any case, have proved a great original thinker. Had he adopted a studious instead of an active career, he might well have been a learned theologian of the moderate-Conservative order, a rather less scholarly, and rather more philosophical and less cautious, Lightfoot.

As a bishop, Temple deliberately thought it his duty to be constructive rather than progressive in his utterances, to edify rather than to instruct. There was nothing dishonest about this policy; and he never, in the manner so easy to bishops, pretended to sympathise with views which he did not really hold. The mere fact that such a man, after the *Essays and Reviews* episode, became a bishop and Primate, and lived down his ecclesiastical unpopularity without any recantation, has no doubt helped the position of moderate Liberals in the Church of England, though it is impossible not to wish that he had attempted just a little more in the way of help and sympathy for the cause of theological re-construction, up to the point to which he personally felt its need. As it is, his best work for the Church of England was done in the practical sphere. Were there a few more of such men at the present day, dis-establishment would be the least of the evils which that Church might cease to fear.

H. RASHDALL

## THE POETRY OF BLAKE<sup>1</sup>

THE new edition of Blake's poetical works, lately published by the Clarendon Press, will be welcomed by every lover of English poetry. The volume is worthy of the great university under whose auspices it has been produced, and of the great artist whose words it will help to perpetuate. Blake has been, hitherto, singularly unfortunate in his editors. With a single exception, every edition of his poems up to the present time has contained a multitude of textual errors which, in the case of any other writer of equal eminence, would have been well-nigh inconceivable. The great majority of these errors were not the result of accident: they were the result of deliberate falsification. Blake's text has been emended and corrected and "improved," so largely and so habitually, that there was a very real danger of its becoming permanently corrupted; and this danger was all the more serious, since the work of mutilation was carried on to an accompaniment of fervent admiration of the poet. "It is not a little bewildering," says Mr. Sampson, the present editor, "to find one great poet and critic extolling Blake for the 'glory of metre' and 'the sonorous beauty of lyrical work' in the two opening lyrics of the *Songs of Experience*, while he introduces into the five short stanzas quoted no less than seven emendations of his own, involving additions of syllables and important changes of meaning." This is Procrustes admiring the

<sup>1</sup> *The Poetical Works of William Blake. A new and verbatim text from the manuscript, engraved, and letter-press originals, with variorum readings and bibliographical notes and prefaces.* By John Sampson, Librarian in the University of Liverpool. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1905.

*The Lyrical Poems of William Blake.* Text by John Sampson, with an Introduction by Walter Raleigh. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1905.



## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

exquisite proportions of his victim. As one observes the countless instances accumulated in Mr. Sampson's notes, of the clippings and filings to which the free and spontaneous expression of Blake's genius has been subjected, one is reminded of a verse in one of his own lyrics, where he speaks of the beautiful garden in which

“ Priests in black gowns were walking their rounds,  
And binding with briers my joys and desires ; ”

and one cannot help hazarding the conjecture, that Blake's prophetic vision recognised, in the lineaments of the “priests in black gowns,” most of his future editors. Perhaps, though, if Blake's prescience had extended so far as this, he would have taken a more drastic measure ; and we shudder to think of the sort of epigram with which the editorial efforts of his worshippers might have been rewarded.

The present edition, however, amply compensates for the past. Mr. Sampson gives us, in the first place, the correct and entire text of the poems, so printed as to afford easy reading to those who desire access to the text and nothing more. At the same time, in a series of notes and prefaces, he has provided an elaborate commentary, containing, besides all the variorum readings, a great mass of bibliographical and critical matter ; and, in addition, he has enabled the reader to obtain a clue through the labyrinth of Blake's mythology, by means of ample quotations from those passages in the *Prophetic Books*, which throw light upon the obscurities of the poems. The most important Blake document—the Rossetti MS.—has been freshly collated, with the generous aid of the owner, Mr. W. A. White, to whom the gratitude of the public is due in no common measure ; and the long-lost Pickering MS.—the sole authority for some of the most mystical and absorbing of the poems—was, with deserved good fortune, discovered by Mr. Sampson in time for collation in the present edition. Thus there is hardly a line in the volume which has not been reproduced from an original, either written or engraved by the hand of Blake. Mr. Sampson's minute and un-

## THE POETRY OF BLAKE

grudging care, his high critical acumen, and the skill with which he has brought his wide knowledge of the subject to bear upon the difficulties of the text, combine to make his edition a noble and splendid monument of English scholarship. It will be long indeed before the poems of Blake cease to afford matter for fresh discussions and commentaries and interpretations ; but it is safe to predict that, so far as their form is concerned, they will henceforward remain unchanged. There will be no room for further editing. The work has been done by Mr. Sampson, once and for all.

In the case of Blake, a minute exactitude of text is particularly important, for more than one reason. Many of his effects depend upon subtle differences of punctuation and of spelling, which are too easily lost in reproduction. "Tiger, tiger, burning bright," is the ordinary version of one of his most celebrated lines. But in Blake's original engraving the words appear thus—"Tyger ! Tyger ! burning bright" ; and who can fail to perceive the difference ? Even more remarkable is the change which the omission of a single stop has produced in the last line of one of the succeeding stanzas of the same poem.

" And what shoulder, & what art,  
Could twist the sinews of thy heart ?  
And when thy heart began to beat,  
What dread hand ? & what dread feet ? "

So Blake engraved the verse ; and, as Mr. Sampson points out, "the terrible, compressed force" of the final line vanishes to nothing in the "languid punctuation" of subsequent editions :—"What dread hand and what dread feet ?" It is hardly an exaggeration to say, that the re-discovery of this line alone would have justified the appearance of the present edition.

But these considerations of what may be called the mechanics of Blake's poetry are not—important as they are—the only justification for a scrupulous adherence to his autograph text. Blake's use of language was not guided by the ordinarily accepted rules of writing ; he allowed himself

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

to be trammelled, neither by prosody nor by grammar ; he wrote, with an extraordinary audacity, according to the mysterious dictates of his own strange and intimate conception of the beautiful and the just. Thus his compositions, amenable to no other laws than those of his own making, fill a unique place in the poetry of the world. They are the rebels and atheists of literature, or rather, they are the sanctuaries of an Unknown God ; and to invoke that deity by means of orthodox incantations is to run the risk of hell fire. Editors may punctuate afresh the text of Shakespeare with impunity, and even with advantage ; but add a comma to the text of Blake, and you put all Heaven in a rage. You have laid your hands upon the Ark of the Covenant. Nor is this all. When once, in the case of Blake, the slightest deviation has been made from the authoritative version, it is hardly possible to stop there. The emendator is on an inclined plane which leads him inevitably from readjustments of punctuation to corrections of grammar, and from corrections of grammar to alterations of rhythm ; if he is in for a penny, he is in for a pound. The first poem in the Rossetti MS. may be adduced as one instance—out of the enormous number which fill Mr. Sampson's notes—of the dangers of editorial laxity.

“ I told my love, I told my love,  
I told her all my heart ;  
Trembling, cold, in ghastly fears,  
Ah ! She doth depart.”

This is the first half of the poem ; and editors have been contented with an alteration of stops, and the change of “doth” into “did.” But their work was not over ; they had, as it were, tasted blood ; and their version of the last four lines of the poem is as follows :

“ Soon after she was gone from me,  
A traveller came by,  
Silently, invisibly :  
He took her with a sigh.”

Reference to the MS., however, shows that the last line

## THE POETRY OF BLAKE

had been struck out by Blake, and another substituted in its place—a line which is now printed for the first time by Mr. Sampson. So that the true reading of the verse is :

“ Soon as she was gone from me,  
A traveller came by,  
Silently, invisibly—  
O! was no deny.”

After these exertions, it must have seemed natural enough to Rossetti and his successors to print four other expunged lines as part of the poem, and to complete the business by clapping a title to their concoction—“ Love’s Secret ”—a title which there is no reason to suppose had ever entered the poet’s mind.

Besides illustrating the shortcomings of his editors, this little poem is an admirable instance of Blake’s most persistent quality—his triumphant freedom from conventional restraints. His most characteristic passages are at once so unexpected and so complete in their effect, that the reader is moved by them, spontaneously, to some conjecture of “ inspiration.” Professor Raleigh, indeed, in his interesting Introduction to a smaller edition of the poems, protests against such attributions of peculiar powers to Blake, or indeed to any other poet. “ No man,” he says, “ destitute of genius, could live for a day.” But, even if we all agree to be inspired together, we must still admit that there are degrees of inspiration ; if Mr. F’s aunt was a woman of genius, what are we to say of Hamlet ? And Blake, in the hierarchy of the inspired, stands very high indeed. If one could strike an average among poets, it would probably be true to say that, so far as inspiration is concerned, Blake is to the average poet, as the average poet is to the man in the street. All poetry, to be poetry at all, must have the power of making one, now and then, involuntarily ejaculate : “ What made him think of that ? ” With Blake, one is asking the question all the time.

Blake’s originality of manner was not, as has sometimes been the case, a cloak for platitude. What he has to say belongs no less distinctly to a mind of astonishing self-

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

dependence than his way of saying it. In English literature, as Professor Raleigh observes, he "stands outside the regular line of succession." All that he had in common with the great leaders of the Romantic Movement was an abhorrence of the conventionality and the rationalism of the eighteenth century; for the eighteenth century itself was hardly more alien to his spirit than that exaltation of Nature—the "Vegetable Universe," as he called it—from which sprang the pantheism of Wordsworth and the paganism of Keats. "Nature is the work of the Devil," he exclaimed one day; "the Devil is in us as far as we are Nature." There was no part of the sensible world which, in his philosophy, was not impregnated with vileness. Even the "ancient heavens" were not, to his uncompromising vision, "fresh and strong"; they were "writ with Curses from Pole to Pole," and destined to vanish into nothingness with the triumph of the Everlasting Gospel.

There are doubtless many to whom Blake is known simply as a charming and splendid lyricist, as the author of *Infant Joy*, and *The Tiger*, and the rest of the *Songs of Innocence and Experience*. These poems show but faint traces of any system of philosophy; but, to a reader of the Rossetti and Pickering MSS., the presence of a hidden and symbolic meaning in Blake's words becomes obvious enough—a meaning which receives its fullest expression in the *Prophetic Books*. It was only natural that the extraordinary nature of Blake's utterance in these latter works should have given rise to the belief that he was merely an inspired idiot—a madman who happened to be able to write good verses. That belief, made finally impossible by Mr. Swinburne's elaborate Essay, is now, happily, nothing more than a curiosity of literary history; and indeed signs are not wanting that the whirligig of Time, which left Blake for so long in the Paradise of Fools, is now about to place him among the Prophets. Anarchy is the most fashionable of creeds; and Blake's writings, according to Professor Raleigh, contain a complete exposition of its doctrines. The same critic asserts that Blake was "one of the most consistent of English poets and thinkers." This is high praise indeed; but there seems to be some ambiguity in it. It is one thing to give Blake

## THE POETRY OF BLAKE

credit for that sort of consistency which lies in the repeated enunciation of the same body of beliefs throughout a large mass of compositions and over a long period of time, and which could never be possessed by a madman or an incoherent charlatan. It is quite another thing to assert that his doctrines form in themselves a consistent whole, in the sense in which that quality would be ordinarily attributed to a system of philosophy. Does Professor Raleigh mean to assert that Blake is, in this sense too, "consistent"? It is a little difficult to discover. Referring, in his Introduction, to Blake's abusive notes on Bacon's *Essays*, he speaks of—

"The sentimental enthusiast, who worships all great men indifferently," and who "finds himself in a distressful position when his gods fall out among themselves. His case," Professor Raleigh wittily adds, "is not much unlike that of Terah, the father of Abraham, who (if the legend be true) was a dealer in idols among the Chaldees, and, coming home to his shop one day, after a brief absence, found that the idols had quarrelled, and the biggest of them had smashed the rest to atoms. Blake is a dangerous idol for any man to keep in his shop."

We wonder very much whether he is kept in Professor Raleigh's.

It seems clear, at any rate, that no claim for a "consistency" which would imply freedom from self-contradiction can be validly made for Blake. His treatment of the problem of evil is enough to show how very far he was from that clarity of thought without which even prophets are liable, when the time comes, to fall into disrepute. "Plato," said Blake, "knew of nothing but the virtues and vices, and good and evil. There is nothing in all that. Everything is good in God's eyes." And this is the perpetual burden of his teaching. "Satan's empire is the empire of nothing"; there is no such thing as evil—it is a mere "negation." And the "moral virtues," which attempt to discriminate between right and wrong, are the idlest of delusions; they are merely "allegories and dissimulations," they "do not

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

exist." Such was one of the most fundamental of Blake's doctrines ; but it requires only a superficial acquaintance with his writings to recognise that their whole tenour is an implicit contradiction of this very belief. Every page he wrote contains a moral exhortation ; bad thoughts and bad feelings raised in him a fury of rage and indignation which the bitterest of satirists never surpassed. His epigrams on Reynolds are master-pieces of virulent abuse ; the punishment which he devised for Klopstock—his impersonation of "flaccid fluency and devout sentiment"—is unprintable ; as for those who attempt to enforce moral laws, they shall be "cast out," for they "crucify Christ with the head downwards." The contradiction is indeed glaring. "There is no such thing as wickedness," Blake says in effect, "and you are wicked if you think there is." If it is true that evil does not exist, all Blake's denunciations are so much empty chatter ; and, on the other hand, if there is a real distinction between good and bad, if everything, in fact, is *not* good in God's eyes,—then why not say so ? Really Blake, as politicians say, "cannot have it both ways."

But, of course, his answer to all this is simple enough. To judge him according to the light of reason is to make an appeal to a tribunal whose jurisdiction he had always refused to recognise as binding. In fact, to Blake's mind, the laws of reason were nothing but a horrible phantasm deluding and perplexing mankind, from whose clutches it is the business of every human soul to free itself as speedily as possible. Reason is the "spectre" of Blake's mythology, that spectre, which, he says,

"Around me night and day  
Like a wild beast guards my way."

It is a malignant spirit, for ever struggling with the "Emanation," or imaginative side of man, whose triumph is the supreme end of the universe. Ever since the day when, in his childhood, Blake had seen God's forehead at the window, he had found in imaginative vision the only reality and the only good. He beheld the things of this world "not with, but through, the eye":

## THE POETRY OF BLAKE

“ With my inward Eye, 'tis an old Man grey,  
With my outward, a Thistle across my way.”

It was to the imagination, and the imagination alone, that Blake yielded the allegiance of his spirit. His attitude towards reason was the attitude of the mystic; and it involved an inevitable dilemma. He never could, in truth, quite shake himself free of his “spectre”; struggle as he would, he could not escape altogether from the employment of the ordinary forms of thought and speech; he is constantly arguing, as if argument were really a means of approaching the truth; he was subdued to what he worked in. As in his own poem, he had, somehow or other, been locked into a crystal cabinet—the world of the senses and of reason—a gilded, artificial, gimcrack dwelling, after “the wild” where he had danced so merrily before.

“ I strove to seize the inmost Form  
With ardour fierce and hands of flame,  
But burst the Crystal Cabinet,  
And like a Weeping Babe became—

A weeping Babe upon the wild . . .”

To be able to lay hands upon “the inmost form,” one must achieve the impossible; one must be inside and outside the crystal cabinet at the same time. But Blake was not to be turned aside by such considerations. He would have it both ways; and whoever demurred was crucifying Christ with the head downwards.

Besides its unreasonableness, there is an even more serious objection to Blake's mysticism—and indeed to all mysticism: its lack of humanity. The mystic's creed—even when arrayed in the wondrous and ecstatic beauty of Blake's verse—comes upon the ordinary man, in the rigidity of its uncompromising elevation, with a shock which is terrible, and almost cruel. The sacrifices which it demands are too vast, in spite of the divinity of what it has to offer. What shall it profit a man, one is tempted to exclaim, if he gain his own soul, and lose the whole world?



## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

The mystic ideal is the highest of all; but it has no breadth. The following lines express, with a simplicity and an intensity of inspiration which he never surpassed, Blake's conception of that ideal :

“ & Throughout all Eternity  
I forgive you, you forgive me.  
As our dear Redeemer said :  
' This the Wine, & this the Bread.' ”

It is easy to imagine the sort of comments to which Voltaire, for instance, with his “ wracking wheel ” of sarcasm and common-sense, would have subjected such lines as these. His criticism would have been irrelevant, because it would never have reached the heart of the matter at issue ; it would have been based upon no true understanding of Blake's words. But that they do admit of a real, an unanswerable criticism, it is difficult to doubt. Charles Lamb, perhaps, might have made it ; incidentally, indeed, he has. “ Sun, and sky, and breeze, and solitary walks, and summer holidays, and the greenness of fields, and the delicious juices of meats and fishes, and society, and the cheerful glass, and candle-light, and fireside conversations, and innocent vanities, and jests, and *irony itself* ” —do these things form no part of your Eternity ?

The truth is plain : Blake was an intellectual drunkard. His words come down to us in a rapture of broken fluency from impossible intoxicated heights. His spirit soared above the empyrean ; and, even as it soared, it stumbled in the gutter of Felpham. His lips brought forth, in the same breath, in the same inspired utterance, the *Auguries of Innocence* and the epigrams on Sir Joshua Reynolds. He was in no condition to chop logic, or to take heed of the existing forms of things. In the imaginary portrait of himself, prefixed to Professor Raleigh's volume, we can see him, as he appeared to his own “ inward eye,” staggering between the abyss and the star of Heaven, his limbs cast abroad, his head thrown back in an ecstasy of intoxication, so that, to the frenzy of his rolling vision, the whole universe is upside down. We look, and, as we gaze at the

## THE POETRY OF BLAKE

strange image and listen to the marvellous melody, we are almost tempted to go and do likewise.

But it is not as a prophet, it is as an artist, that Blake deserves the highest honours and the most enduring fame. In spite of his hatred of the "vegetable universe," his poems possess the inexplicable and spontaneous quality of natural objects; they are more like the works of Heaven than the works of man. They have, besides, the two most obvious characteristics of Nature—loveliness and power. In some of his lyrics there is an exquisite simplicity, which seems, like a flower or a child, to be unconscious of itself. In his poem of *The Birds*—to mention, out of many, perhaps a less known instance—it is not the poet that one hears, it is the birds themselves.

"O thou summer's harmony,  
I have lived and mourned for thee;  
Each day I mourn along the wood,  
And night hath heard my sorrows loud."

In his other mood—the mood of elemental force—Blake produces effects which are unique in literature. His mastery of the mysterious suggestions which lie concealed in words is complete.

"He who torments the Chafer's Sprite  
Weaves a Bower in endless Night."

What dark and terrible visions the last line calls up! And, with the aid of this control over the secret springs of language, he is able to produce in poetry those vast and vague effects of gloom, of foreboding, and of terror, which seem to be proper to music alone. Sometimes his words are heavy with the doubtful horror of an approaching thunderstorm:

"The Guests are scattered thro' the land,  
For the Eye altering alters all;  
The Senses roll themselves in fear,  
And the flat Earth becomes a Ball;

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

The Stars, Sun, Moon, all shrink away,  
A desert vast without a bound,  
And nothing left to eat or drink,  
And a dark desert all around."

And sometimes Blake invests his verses with a sense of nameless and infinite ruin, such as one feels when the drum and the violin mysteriously come together, in one of Beethoven's *Symphonies*, to predict the annihilation of worlds :

" On the shadows of the Moon,  
Climbing through Night's highest noon :  
In Time's Ocean falling, drowned :  
In Aged Ignorance profound,  
Holy and cold, I clipp'd the Wings  
Of all Sublunary Things . . . .  
But when once I did descry  
The Immortal Man that cannot Die,  
Thro' evening shades I haste away  
To close the Labours of my Day.  
The Door of Death I open found,  
And the Worm Weaving in the Ground :  
Thou'rt my Mother, from the Womb ;  
Wife, Sister, Daughter, to the Tomb :  
Weaving to Dreams the Sexual strife,  
And weeping over the Web of Life."

Such music is not to be lightly mouthed by mortals ; for us, in our weakness, a few strains of it, now and then, amid the murmur of ordinary converse, are enough. For Blake's words will always be strangers on this earth ; they could only fall with familiarity from the lips of his own Gods :

" above Time's troubled fountains,  
On the great Atlantic Mountains,  
In my Golden House on high."

They belong to the language of Los and Rahab and Enitharmon ; and their mystery is revealed for ever in the land of the Sunflower's desire.

G. L. STRACHEY

## ALGERIA SEEN BY THE EYE OF FAITH<sup>1</sup>

WHEN an Oxford scholar and an artist, skilful alike with pen and pencil, describes his impressions of travel in a land whose natural magic is only equalled by the romance of its history, the result is a book which those who have followed the same pilgrim on his path to Rome will welcome with eagerness. And they will not be disappointed. In Africa Mr. Belloc is an even more fascinating guide than he is in Europe ; his impressions are more keen and stinging, as though a clearer atmosphere had sharpened his perceptions ; his sketches show even greater skill in emphasising the essentials, and in suggesting by adroit omission an infinite variety of details for the mood of each spectator to supply for itself ; while the whole series of pictures is formed into a unity by the thread of history which holds them together, and gives to each its significance.

The main thesis of Mr. Belloc's Algerian studies is, that the Maghreb illustrates, with peculiar clearness, the everlasting conflict of East and West. By race, he maintains, the land belongs to Europe. Twice it was conquered by Asia, first by the Phoenicians, next by the Arabs ; in the interval between the two conquests, it was governed by Rome ; and it is the work of the modern world to bring it back into the Roman tradition. It is probable that the Berbers were, as Mr. Belloc is never tired of repeating, akin to the Aryan peoples of Europe ; though it is doubtful whether many ethnologists will adopt his belief that Barbary was the original home of the Aryans. It is also true, that the Phoenicians were an Oriental people, who founded in

<sup>1</sup> *Esto Perpetua : Algerian Studies and Impressions.* By H. Belloc. London : Duckworth and Co., 1906.

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

North Africa a power that was essentially alien and hostile to European ideas. The materialism of Carthage was relieved only by a religion more gloomy and revolting than materialism itself. In spite of their close contact with the Greeks, the Carthaginians proved themselves impervious to Hellenism ; that is the touchstone by which ancient and modern alike must be tested. The Romans passed the test ; and it is Rome's glory that she dug the channels by which the Waters of Life were conveyed to the still barbarous West, and were transmitted to posterity. But the Carthaginian nature lacked the spiritual affinities which made the Roman respond so readily to the appeal of the Greek. Petrified in its hard casing of gold, immeshed in the obscene coils of its religion, the Carthaginian worm could never break from its chrysalis and take wings at the breath that brought spring to the world. So that, neither admiration for the genius of Carthaginian heroes, nor indignation at the meanness and perfidy of Rome, should blind us to the fact that, in this life-and-death struggle for the mastery of the Mediterranean, the better cause was triumphant.

But, though we recognise the value of the victory which secured the ascendancy of Hellenism, this should not lead us to belittle the achievements of the conquered Phoenicians, nor to falsify history to their detriment. Mr. Belloc seems inclined to do both these things. Writing of the Semitic race, he says :

“ To no other family of men has toil appeared to be a curse save to that of which the Phoenicians were members ; nor are fatigues tolerable to that family save those endured in acquiring the possessions of others, and in levying that toll which cunning can always gather from mere industry.”

To represent the middle-man, whose enterprise is no less essential to the production of wealth than is the arm of the artisan or the brain of the inventor, as merely living on the labour of others, is a grotesque fallacy at all times ; but its grotesqueness is infinitely enhanced when applied to the people who, as Mr. Belloc admits, visited every sea before

## ALGERIA SEEN BY THE EYE OF FAITH

the Greeks, circumnavigated Africa, and brought the wealth of Britain and the Baltic to the markets of the Mediterranean. Nor is it true to represent the Phoenicians as simply middlemen. The industries of Tyre and Sidon were famous throughout the ancient world; and their citizens filled the Mediterranean, not merely with trading stations, but with factories whose waste products can still be seen, on promontory and islet, to testify to their founders' industry.

The same prejudice leads Mr. Belloc, when treating of the Punic Wars, to paint Carthage blacker and the Italians in brighter colours than history warrants. It is not true to represent the Carthaginian people as indifferent to their country's interests and honour, in servile obedience to their aristocratic rulers. The great movement which sent Hamilcar to Spain, and Hannibal to the gates of Rome, came from the Carthaginian populace. It is not true as Mr. Belloc says (p. 35) that the aristocracy "had determined upon a final defeat of Rome." On the contrary, the aristocracy had done nothing, when Rome brutally broke the peace in order to wrest Sardinia from Carthage. In its desire for peace at any price, the aristocracy had made concession after concession to its insatiable and unscrupulous enemy; it was the Carthaginian people, disgusted with its government's incompetence and cowardice, that placed Hamilcar in the position to construct, unthwarted by the oligarchy at home, a new Empire in Spain, and a new army with which once more to contest the supremacy with Rome. The Phoenicians certainly were not a warlike people; their prime object was to win wealth by commerce and the industries of peace. Hence they retired so readily from the Aegean before the aggressive competition of the Greeks. But, when their rivals pursued them even into the western waters, and when it became clear that, without war, their commerce would pass from them for ever, then the Phoenicians rallied, and, under the leadership of Carthage, showed, as others have done, that a "nation of shopkeepers" is not incapable of Empire or military greatness. For centuries they waged war against Greek expansion westwards, and, though again and again defeated, maintained their position on the whole. Africa, Western Sicily, the chief trade of the Spanish coast,

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

were successfully held against the Greeks ; and, at the time when Rome at last stretched out her hands to grasp the island which had so long been the battle-ground of Greek and Carthaginian, the latter had got the upper hand so far, that the greater part of Sicily was now hers, and her navies were threatening the Greeks of Italy itself. To describe the long and desperate wars which Carthage waged with Gelo, Dionysius, Agathocles, and Pyrrhus, by saying that she "*wrangled* with the Greek colonies" (p. 32), is an abuse of language caused, but not justified, by the author's tendency to depreciate the achievements of the Semites.

The obverse of the same bias is seen in Mr. Belloc's exaggeration of the unity of Italy in the war against Hannibal. One chief reason for Hannibal's failure he finds in "the solidarity of the Western blood" (p. 35), in the spirit of the defence made by the Europeans whom "an abhorrence of this alien blood welded together." As a matter of fact, nearly all the peoples of Italy went over to Hannibal, except the Latin colonies: the Gauls in the North, the Sabelians of central and southern Italy, and many of the Greek colonies, so far forgot "the solidarity of Western blood" as to desert Rome for the standard of the abhorred alien—unless Mr. Belloc denies Western blood and the title of European to Gaul, Samnite, and Greek. Hannibal was conquered, not by the anti-Semitism of the Europeans, but by Rome's skill in attaching her colonies and a section of her conquered kinsmen in loyalty to herself. Nor is the final destruction of Carthage to be explained on the ground that "there was something in the temper of Asia that was intolerable to the Western people." Such antipathies are the growth of another tradition. The Roman moneyed men razed Carthage and Corinth to the ground at the same time ; and for the same reason, that they coveted their commerce, and thought destruction the simplest way to get rid of a trade rival. Fear of the great recuperative power shown by Carthage was, no doubt, one factor which determined the Roman government to let the capitalists have their way. The ill-success of Roman arms in Spain, the incompetence of the generals and the cowardice and unruliness of the troops, were showing all too clearly the decadence of

## ALGERIA SEEN BY THE EYE OF FAITH

Rome's military power. Any really vigorous and civilised enemy would have been a serious danger to the Empire at that time ; and cowardice suggested the wisdom of forestalling all possibility of such danger, by annihilating the one State that still showed a sound vitality. But it was greed and self-distrust, and no mere insane racial prejudice, that led Rome to drive the ploughshare over the site where Carthage had once stood.

With regard to this great phase of African history, then, Mr. Belloc's account suffers partly from an undue depreciation of the qualities and achievements of the Phoenicians generally, and of the Carthaginians in particular, and partly from reading modern prejudices into a past to which they were quite foreign, with the result that the nature of the resistance to Hannibal is misunderstood, and the motives of Rome's destruction of her rival are misinterpreted.

In dealing with the civilising work of Rome, on the other hand, Mr. Belloc shows generosity and sympathy, witness his estimate of Roman methods in this fine tribute to the French :

“They have done the Latin thing. First they have designed, then organised, then built, then ploughed ; and their wealth has come last.”

Something might have been said about conquest, certainly ; otherwise the definition is complete and just. But in this section of his work too, Mr. Belloc's partisanship appears to mislead him. He is anxious to show that what he calls “the Faith,” is the true continuator of the work of Rome ; that “the Faith,” so far from being hostile to the aspirations of Pagan Rome, actually helped towards their realisation, and has worked through the Middle Ages, and is working at this day, to restore the Empire and to do “the Latin thing.” In order to maintain this view, he has to ignore the overwhelming proofs of the decline of Roman society from the time of the Antonines onwards. All the evidence shows that, in all material things, Rome began to lose her power in the second century, that, from this time forward, the military spirit died rapidly, that local patriot-



## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

ism and the power of self-government were disappearing, that the central government, for all the desperate expedients of a Diocletian, became more and more incompetent to animate the unwieldy mass of the now disorganised Empire, that in all the civilised lands the population continually decreased, that fields and vineyards went out of cultivation and grass grew in the markets of cities once famous and populous, that the Empire leant more and more on hired barbarians to guard her frontiers, and sought to replenish the dwindling numbers of her subjects by settling hordes of German serfs in provinces once filled with a free, civilised, and numerous population. All these processes can be seen clearly at work from the Age of the Antonines. The nearer we come to the time when the Empire became Christian, the more marked do the signs of decay become ; and after the adoption of the New Faith, the decadence is still swifter and still more universal. Mr. Belloc either ignores all this evidence of decay, or explains it away as due to "the violent self-criticism which accompanies vitality" (p. 81), and proceeds to make the astonishing statement :

"There is hardly a town whose physical history we can trace that did not expand especially towards the close of that time" (*i.e.* the fourth century). "There was hardly an industry or a class (notably the officials) that had not, by an accumulation of experience, grown to create, upon a larger and a larger scale, its peculiar contribution to the State."

One wonders how it was that an Empire so well organised, prosperous, and progressive, was so soon and so easily over-run by what Mr. Belloc calls "the few barbarians of the fifth century," and that the capital of the Empire itself was captured by a handful of Goths at the very zenith of its greatness. But of course that is not history ; Mr. Belloc holds a brief and, where the argument is against him, he has recourse to bluff. Christianity was the antithesis of all that made Rome great. The pride of life, the mastery over material things, the wisdom of this world, the love of power and pre-eminence—all these

## ALGERIA SEEN BY THE EYE OF FAITH

things were dross to the Christian ; and, long before the New Creed was accepted, they had begun to lose their value for the Pagans themselves. As Mr. Belloc finely puts it :

“the vague overwhelming and perhaps insoluble problems which concern not a city but the whole world, the discovery of human doom and of the nature and destiny of the soul, these occupied such minds as would in an earlier time have bent themselves to simpler and more feasible tasks than the search after finality.”

That is a true statement of the spiritual condition of Roman society in and after the second century. Men's thoughts were turning more and more away from this world to the life beyond the grave. In the process, the whole order of values, on whose matter-of-course acceptance the Roman system rested, became inverted. The Empire made terms with the enemy, and, by adopting, came to some extent to control his creed, and at least to check its disintegrating power. But the forces which led Rome to turn from her worldliness to a religion which denied the world, continued to work after the religion had made alliance with the world. Rome's course henceforward lay along the resultant of the two divergent forces that controlled her, the Church and the Empire ; and that course led to her ruin. But the Church survived ; and the work of the Empire could not be resumed until what Mr. Belloc calls “the most sudden and the most inexplicable of our revolutions” occurred, and the Reformation and the Renaissance once more broke the spell of the Church, and allowed men to turn again to the organisation of this world.

It is now at last possible that we may see Africa brought back to the Roman tradition. But if that consummation takes place, it will be for reasons the opposite of those assigned by Mr. Belloc. He apportions Tunis and Tripoli to Italy, Algiers to France, and Morocco to Spain ; and he finds the mainspring of this civilising movement in the

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

growing union of Europe in the Faith, after the paralysis of three centuries caused by the Reformation. But if so, if it is the Faith that spurs France and Italy to organise and exploit Africa, it is odd that both France and Italy should have waited till they have passed so far from the dominion of the Faith; and it is significant that, at the very time when France is taking a step forward in her civilising mission abroad, she is strengthening her spiritual freedom against the Faith at home. It is also significant, that the one disappointment which seems likely to befall Mr. Belloc will come from that country which has remained most loyal to the Faith. The Romanisation of Morocco may be wrought by France, or by some slow European Concert. It will not be wrought by Spain, unless Spain changes too.

N. WEDD

## SENTIMENTALIST OR TIGER ?<sup>1</sup>

**T**HIS little book has a two-fold value. In the first place, it sets out the leading facts and describes the successive stages of Napoleon's early years, in a succinct but readable form. Secondly, it holds a brief, and makes out a strong case for the theory that Napoleon as a youth was unselfish, affectionate, idealist, genuinely liberal and republican, and that sentiment, in the better sense of the word, was the foundation of his character and the motive of his actions. The inquiry into the truth or falsehood of this hypothesis takes piquancy from the notorious fact that, whatever he was in youth, in middle age Napoleon was the exact opposite of all these things. Grosser materialist, egoist, and cynic, never swayed the destinies of men.

<sup>1</sup> *The Boyhood and Youth of Napoleon.* By Oscar Browning. London : John Lane, 1906.

## SENTIMENTALIST OR TIGER ?

It will be enough to take one example of the later Napoleon from Mr. Browning's book (p. 82): The Emperor, on being informed by Laplace that the latter had lost his daughter, replied: "You, a geometrician, submit this event to your calculus; and you will find that it equals zero." This speech, Mr. Browning declares, "does not belong to the life or character of the young Napoleon." As his brother Joseph said: "Ah! the glorious Emperor will never indemnify me for Napoleon, whom I loved so well, and whom I should like to meet again, as I knew him in 1786, if there is indeed a meeting in the Elysian Fields" (p. 102).

It is the theme of this book to show that there actually was such a "young Napoleon," loved, not only by his family, but by many devoted friends, and loving them again, generous, liberal, poetical, and patriotic in his devotion, first to Corsica and then to revolutionary France.

But, before consenting to believe in the existence of this early Napoleon, let us hear the Devil's Advocate, no less a pleader than Taine himself, who has argued with graphic force, in the first chapter of his *Régime Moderne*, that there never was more than one Napoleon, the Corsican Tiger:

"Démessuré en tout, mais encore plus étrange, non seulement il est hors ligne, mais il est hors cadre; par son tempérament, ses instincts, ses facultés, son imagination, ses passions, sa morale, il semble fondu dans un moule à part, composé d'un autre métal que ses concitoyens et ces contemporains. Manifestement, ce n'est ni un Français, ni un homme du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle; il appartient à une autre race et à un autre âge."

And the race to which he belonged, says Taine, was a cross between the vengeful Corsican and the no less vengeful Italian nobles of the time of Dante and Machiavel; his age was the barbarous middle age which had been prolonged in that little island of the vendetta. The Bonapartes had migrated from the warlike streets of the medieval Italian

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

cities, to the island where the blood-feud lived on after it had been suppressed on the main land.

“Ainsi, juste au moment où l'énergie, l'ambition, la forte et libre sève du moyen âge commence à décroître, puis à tarir dans la tige mère qui s'étiole, une petite branche détachée va prendre racine dans une île non moins italienne, mais presque barbare, parmi les institutions, les mœurs, et les passions du premier moyen âge, dans une atmosphère sociale assez rude pour lui conserver toute sa vigueur et toute son âpreté.”

Hence, according to Taine, Napoleon was sullen, self-centred, “very proud, revengeful, ambitious” during all his boyhood and youth. Even the generous trait of patriotism to Corsica, Taine looks at solely from the point of view of his hostility to the conquering French.

“À Bienne, il ne fréquente pas ses camarades, il évite de jouer avec eux, il s'enferme pendant les récréations dans la bibliothèque, il ne s'épanche qu'avec Bourrienne et par des explosions haineuses : ‘Je ferai à tes Français tout le mal que je pourrai.’”

Now Mr. Browning brings facts to show that Napoleon was not morose and self-centred in boyhood and youth, except during the period at Bienne, and that there his seclusion and pride were due, partly to his love of Corsica and generous anger with her French conquerors, and partly to the nasty ways of his schoolmates, and the peculiarly odious combination of frequent religious services with immorality, which was the rule in French schools before the Revolution. If we can imagine a young Boer brought up in a bad house in an English Public School, it would be no proof of want of generosity and expansiveness on his part if he kept himself to himself, and occasionally talked against England while he was sixteen; and the same boy might, if great events occurred, become a patriotic Englishman and English Liberal at twenty (as Napoleon, according to Mr.

## SENTIMENTALIST OR TIGER?

Browning, became a patriotic Frenchman and French Revolutionist).

Apart from his sulkiness at Brienne, he seems to have had a very pleasant record in youth, of friendships, kindnesses done and ideals pursued—at least if Mr. Browning has not overstated the case. But perhaps the most interesting, if not the safest, evidence, is his own account of his philosophy of life, which the young artillery officer put down on paper in 1791, when competing for a prize offered by the Academy of Lyons for a philosophic essay. He writes in praise of sensibility. "Better be an enthusiast, a man of passions, than a man without sensibility." The modern Attila proceeds to coo as gently as any sucking dove. He tells us of—

"the delights of life, of sweet gratitude, of tender respect, of sincere friendship. These are the real pleasures of life; and they are greater if you have a wife and children. If your soul was as burning as the furnace of Etna; if you have a father, a wife, and children, you never need be afraid of the weariness of life. Thus by sentiment we enjoy ourselves, nature, our country, and the men who surround us" (p. 149).

And here is the destined slayer of Palm and Hofer in another, but equally praiseworthy vein:

"All tyrants will doubtless go to hell; but their slaves will go there also; for, after the crime of oppressing a nation, the crime of suffering oppression is the most monstrous" (p. 150).

The writer of this essay was either a simple soul, or a very artful one for his years!

The doubtful problem of the young Napoleon's character must turn largely on whether we believe that in penning these words the candidate was merely writing his prize essay on the approved Rousseau model of his day, as M. Taine assumes (*Régime Moderne*, p. 11), or whether, as Mr. Browning prefers to think (p. 153), he was pouring forth his soul.

Are these sentimentalities of the same quality as the St. Helena pose, "when he strikes for his pathetic sublime"? To my ear the early sentiment has not quite so metallic a twang.

And, indeed, though the feelings expressed seem to have been natural to the essayist at the moment of his writing, he himself is under no delusion that they will last long. They are not a religion to guide life, but an emotion natural to youth, as he himself goes on to say. The young sentimentalist tells us, in so many words, that the generous passions are natural to youth, as ambition and egoism are natural to ripening years! "The lover grown to manhood is mastered by ambition." And, again, he writes (p. 151):

"What then is love? The feeling of his weakness with which a solitary and isolated man is soon penetrated, the sentiment at once of his impotence and his immortality; the soul concentrates itself, doubles itself, fortifies itself, the delicious tears of passion flow—this is love. Observe the young man, thirteen years of age—he loves his friends as he will love his mistress at twenty. Egoism is of later birth. At forty a man loves his fortune, at eighty himself."

So there we have the youthful Bonaparte's speculations as to the stages of human development, an account which would fully explain his own career, if we allow for a precociously early development of the fortune-loving and self-loving instincts. There is no question of *principle*; what is *right* to do, does not concern him. It is only a question of *nature*; what one *must* do. There is then something fatalistic in his attitude to those cosmic forces which he sees moulding and swaying men, as the tide sways the sea-weed. Now he loves his friends; in a few years he will love his mistress; yet a few more years, and he will love power. Such is his own prophecy of the inevitable course! And so indeed it happened, unless we accept Taine's unnecessary hypothesis, that his youthful affections and sentimentalities were, like his republicanism, an hypocritical condescension to the fashion of his time. But may we not

## SENTIMENTALIST OR TIGER?

rather think that, though he had little power of literary expression, this young Titan felt the urgings of mother Nature who bore him—the melancholies, the passions, the tenderness—feeling these with the whole gigantic force of his mighty self, not from affectation or design, still less from principle, but by nature.

“See the sun set on the sea,” he writes, “melancholy will overcome you, you will abandon yourself to it; the melancholy of Nature cannot be resisted” (p. 148). These words, when we consider who wrote them, suggest a theme for the poet, a picture for the artist. Grander far than the half-theatrical folding of the arms on the St. Helena rock with one eye asquint on the admiring world, is this earlier figure of the handsome, dark-faced, young archangel, not yet fallen, and not yet known among men, standing on the shore of his island home, brooding, with his giant’s share of melancholy, over the gilded western waters, questioning the unknown forces from whose lap he had come forth—on what sad doubtful destiny? It is at least not an impossible thesis, that a sensitive, grandiose, unprincipled nature like this, should have sought solace, first in tenderness, affection, love of liberty, and, after a while, in mere lust for power, hungry, material, and senseless, but not so ignoble as the frenzied finance of our own day.

The last essay in the *Clio* of Anatole France, is an imaginative study of Napoleon at the time of his return from Egypt, which may be read as a study in the period of transition, when he was ceasing to find solace for his melancholy questionings of the sunset, in the ideals of love, friendship, generosity, and beginning instead to find solace in power.

“Your Byron,” said our great Scotch pathologist, “publishes his *Sorrows of Lord George*, in verse and in prose, and copiously otherwise; your Bonaparte represents his *Sorrows of Napoleon* opera, in an all too stupendous style: with music of cannon-volleys, and murder-shrieks of the world; his stage lights are the fires of Conflagration; his rhyme and recitative are the tramp of embattled hosts and sounds of falling cities.”



## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

So Taine may be wrong. Napoleon was, perhaps, not a tiger, but a lost soul, which implies that he once had a soul to lose. In that case we take off our hats to the Black Adversary for securing one of the biggest prizes. But there have been souls yet bigger than Napoleon, who have been saved from the fanged clutch.

G. M. TREVELYAN

---

*\* \* It is desirable that no contributions should be sent without previous communication with the Editor, who cannot undertake to return unsolicited MSS.*

*Publishers are requested not to send books for review. The Editor will venture to apply for copies of such works as it is desired to notice.*

# M E R C U R E D E F R A N C E

26, rue de Condé, Paris

Littérature, Poésie, Théâtre, Musique, Peinture,  
Sculpture, Philosophie, Histoire, Sociologie, Sciences,  
Voyages, Bibliophilie, Sciences occultes,  
Critique, Littérature étrangère, Revue de la Quinzaine

Le *Mercur de France* est dans sa dix-septième année. Il paraît le 1<sup>er</sup> et le 15 de chaque mois et forme tous les ans 6 volumes.

Le *Mercur de France* occupe dans la presse française une place unique : il participe de la revue et du journal.

Presque exclusivement littéraire au début, il a considérablement élargi son domaine. Pour juger de sa diversité, il suffit de parcourir quelques-uns de ses sommaires et la liste des 50 chroniques que, sous le titre de *Revue de la Quinzaine*, il publie selon un roulement méthodique. Cette *Revue de la Quinzaine* s'alimente à l'étranger autant qu'en France ; elle offre un très grand nombre de documents et constitue une sorte d'encyclopédie au jour le jour du mouvement universel des idées.

Il n'est peut-être pas indifférent de signaler qu'il est celui des grands périodiques français qui coûte le moins cher, puisque le prix de son abonnement excède à peine celui des journaux à un sou.

## Vente au numéro et abonnement

Les abonnements partent du premier des mois de janvier, avril, juillet et octobre.

### France

Le numéro : 1 fr. 25

UN AN.....	25 fr.
SIX MOIS.....	14 »
TROIS MOIS.....	8 »

### Étranger

Le numéro : 1 fr. 50

UN AN.....	30 fr.
SIX MOIS.....	17 »
TROIS MOIS.....	10 »

ABONNEMENT DE TROIS ANS, avec prime équivalant au remboursement de l'abonnement.

France : 65 fr.

Étranger : 80 fr.

La prime consiste : 1° en une réduction du prix de l'abonnement ; 2° en la faculté d'acheter chaque année 20 volumes des éditions du *Mercur de France* à 3 fr. 50, parus ou à paraître, aux prix absolument nets suivants (emballage et port compris) :

France : 2 fr. 25

Étranger : 2 fr. 50

Envoi franco, sur demande, d'un spécimen de la revue et du catalogue complet des Éditions *Mercur de France*.

FINE ART IN .

TYPEWRITING .

Secure the interest of your correspondent  
by the beauty of your written thoughts.

THE **YÖST**

TYPEWRITER is the Machine that gives beautiful  
thoughts an appropriate setting.

*50 Holborn Viaduct, E.C.*

F I S H I N G

**IN IRELAND**

*By Philip Geen*

Illustrated. 3/6 Net

**IN SCOTLAND**

*By Philip Geen*

Illustrated. 3/6 Net

**ST. JAMES'S ELECTRIC BATHS**

Removed to 1, York Street,  
St. James's Square.  
Mrs. Wiseman.

"I raise my glass  
to Fanny"—Punch

*See page iv*

DELICIOUS FOR BREAKFAST  
& AFTER DINNER.

**RED**  
**WHITE**  
**COFFEE. & BLUE**

In making, use less quantity, it being  
much stronger than ordinary COFFEE.



THE  
INDEPENDENT  
REVIEW

WILLIAMS COLLEGE LIBRARY  
JUN 14 1906  
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

VOL. IX. NO. 33

JUNE 1906

CONTENTS

NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

THE FUTURE OF DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS

MICHAEL SADLER

ANTI-MILITARISM IN FRANCE

URBAIN GOHIER

SCOTLAND'S POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS

J. W. GULLAND, M.P.

THE NEW HUMILITY

G. K. CHESTERTON

A WEST INDIAN IRELAND

ARNOLD EILOART

CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION IN TRADE DISPUTES

I. H. MITCHELL

HENRY SIDGWICK

F. W. MAITLAND

ROSTOCK AND WISMAR

E. M. FORSTER

ON A NORTHERN MOOR

MARNA PEASE

LIQUOR TAXATION

J. A. HOBSON

OTHER REVIEWS

LONDON PUBLISHED BY  
T. FISHER UNWIN

# BANCROFT'S AMERICANS IN LONDON

---

A HANDBOOK REGARDING AMERICAN INTERESTS  
IN GREAT BRITAIN, COMMERCIAL AND SOCIAL

---

Edited by W. B. BANCROFT

---

*BANCROFT'S AMERICANS IN LONDON has  
been published for five consecutive years, and  
is now ready for the sixth year—1906.*

*It is the standard handy reference book regarding  
Americans and their interests in London and  
England.*

*It is the American RED BOOK, read and referred  
to by all who want information about Americans  
in London—British and American alike.*

Published Annually by  
AMERICAN PUBLISHING COMPANY  
London, Paris and New York



Printed and Sold by  
UNWIN BROTHERS, Ltd.  
27 Pilgrim Street, London, E.C.

**PRICE - - - 5s.**

---

## *Bancroft's Americans' Guide to London and the Places Thereabouts*

ESPECIALLY COMPILED FOR THE USE OF AMERICANS  
VISITING THE BRITISH CAPITAL, SHOWING THEM . . .

WHAT TO SEE, HOW TO SEE IT, WHAT IT  
WILL COST, AND ALL ABOUT EVERYTHING OF  
PARTICULAR INTEREST TO AMERICANS

**PRICE - - - 2/6**

# THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW



## CONTENTS

	PAGE
NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS . . . .	242
THE FUTURE OF DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS . . . . MICHAEL E. SADLER	253
ANTI-MILITARISM IN FRANCE URBAIN GOHIER	264
SCOTLAND'S POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS J. W. GULLAND, M.P.	279
THE NEW HUMILITY . G. K. CHESTERTON	292
A WEST INDIAN IRELAND . ARNOLD EILOART	298
CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION IN TRADE DISPUTES . I. H. MITCHELL	310
HENRY SIDGWICK . F. W. MAITLAND	324
ROSTOCK AND WISMAR . E. M. FORSTER	332
ON A NORTHERN MOOR . MARNA PEASE	336
LIQUOR TAXATION . . . J. A. HOBSON	341
OTHER REVIEWS:	
WHAT IS TRUTH? . HON. BERTRAND RUSSELL	349
A HISTORY OF LIBERTY . REV. J. NEVILLE FIGGIS	353

---

### *Published by*

T. FISHER UNWIN, 1 Adelphi Terrace, Strand, London.

America: THE INTERNATIONAL NEWS COMPANY, 83 and 85 Duane Street, New York.

Toronto: THE TORONTO NEWS COMPANY. Montreal: THE MONTREAL NEWS COMPANY.

France: GALIGNANI'S LIBRARY. Germany: F. L. HERBIG, Leipzig.

No. 33.—VOL. IX.

241

S

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

### NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

**T**HAT the Education Bill would be passed on the second reading by a large majority was a foregone conclusion. Its successful passage through the remaining stages in the House of Commons is hardly less assured. But we do not doubt that the **Progress of the Education Problem** Government is fully alive to the need, in a question which stirs feelings so strongly, of conciliating opposition, so far as this can be done without sacrifice of essential principle. The discussions on the second reading, and subsequently, have shown complicated cross currents of opinion. But one conclusion seems to emerge clearly : that the crucial point of the Bill will be the way in which it deals with what we may call shortly the "homogeneous" schools—the class of schools, that is, in which four fifths of the parents belong to one particular denomination, and which no child of any other denomination is bound to attend. Here at any rate, the ordinary man is inclined to say, it should be possible to meet the wishes of the parents without doing violence to Liberal principles. There are many other questions which will be hotly controverted—questions of trust deeds, of facilities in provided schools and in single school districts, of the inclusion of religious instruction in school hours. But all these can probably be disposed of without leaving behind a lasting sense of grievance, if the way can be found

## NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

to an acceptable settlement in the case of the homogeneous schools.

In dealing with this question, the attitude of the Roman Catholics is the key to the position. This is not because any special treatment is given under the Bill, **The Homogeneous Schools** or could or should be given, to Roman Catholic schools as such. Any facilities that may be given to them will be open, under similar conditions, to the schools of any other denomination. But the attitude of the Roman Catholics is of special importance, because they are the body furthest removed from ordinary English opinion, and because, in America and the Colonies, they have in general stood apart from the common schools, which the Anglicans in general have not, and it may therefore fairly be assumed that a settlement accepted by them will be accepted also by the Church of England. The Catholic attitude also gains in importance through its being represented in Parliament by the Irish Nationalists, who, by their independence of English Parties, are enabled to take a somewhat detached view of the situation. What then is the opinion expressed by the Irish leaders? They recognise that Clause 4 goes far to meet the case of the Catholic schools; and they ask for practically one change only: that it should be made mandatory instead of optional. The more moderate speakers for the Church of England take the same line. Against the proposed amendment it has been argued, that the local authorities ought to be trusted to discharge a moral obligation without express statutory requirement. But this hardly puts the question quite fairly. How are the local authorities to know what their obligations are, unless Parliament will take upon itself the responsibility of defining them? The same men who would ungrudgingly carry out a statutory duty, might feel bound to take an opposite line if the matter were left by Parliament to their discretion. To remit the decision to local option must certainly mean that, in many places, the religious controversy will dominate elections. And on this ground alone there is much to be said for the view, that either it is



## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

worth while to ensure that the special facilities shall be granted whenever certain specified conditions occur, or it is not worth while to have the clause at all.

There remains another possible way of dealing with the homogeneous schools, which might be used either to replace or to supplement the course proposed by the Bill. This is the method proposed by Mr. Sadler in an article which we print in this Number: that such schools should be recognised by the State as certified efficient schools, and should be allowed to receive State grants without aid from local rates, making up the balance from voluntary subscriptions. Such a proposal will not be without support among Nonconformists; and it would have the advantage of meeting the feeling that gave rise to passive resistance. If Clause 4 of the Bill is not to be made mandatory, this would probably be the second best course to adopt. But there are objections to accepting it as the only way of meeting the case of the homogeneous schools. It would mean to some extent a return to the unsatisfactory state of things existing before 1902, when many of the voluntary schools were kept permanently at a low level of efficiency, for want of funds. In some cases, sufficient funds might be forthcoming from voluntary sources to enable a school to be carried on on the lines proposed, without loss of efficiency. But this would not be possible in all cases; and, in particular, it would often not be possible in the case of the Roman Catholic schools, which usually provide for the very poor, and which would certainly continue to exist somehow, whether aided from the rates or from State grants only, or from neither. To treat all alike is clearly advisable in the interests of sound education. And we believe that the reasons which led to financial discrimination between different schools on the ground of their religious character will be found to disappear, when the position is accepted: that all religious instruction should be outside the sphere of compulsion.

The attitude of the English Protectionists towards Alien

## NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

Labour is clarified by their action in the House of Lords. When the alien comes to take his normal place in English life in the open market, he ought to be excluded by law. But when batches of aliens are brought into England under contract by capitalists, as black-legs, they are to be admitted. In the House of Commons, indeed, the Protectionists dissembled their sympathies, and allowed the Labour members' amendment of the Aliens Act to pass unchallenged. When the Bill arrived in the Lords, it came into an atmosphere where such concealment was neither necessary nor possible. A Protectionist peer, Viscount Ridley, moved the rejection of the Bill; and the Tory peers threw out a measure which had passed unanimously through the Commons. Thus, the peers who have been quiescent for ten years have suddenly returned to activity. The very first measure that is sent up by the new House of Commons is thrown out. They could not even wait for the Trade Disputes Bill or the Education Bill. Evidently the great battle between the English democracy and the House of Lords will be joined at once—and it is best so—in the first flush of the pride and strength of the new Progressive majority. The battle will be a hard one; for we have to deprive the Lords of a legal right as old as Parliament itself. That right has no longer any moral authority or political utility. The House of Lords is merely a machine which the Tory Party sets in operation as frequently as it dares, in order to thwart representative government, whenever Liberal principles are predominant in the popular assembly.

During the progress of the Plural Voters Bill much has been heard of the argument that the historical basis of political representation is locality; and it is somewhat curious that Sir William Anson, who is both acute and learned, should have lent the weight of his authority to such a proposition. For, in the first place, it is difficult to see how the argument, even if it were historically sound, would help the opponents of the measure. The representation of a locality,

**The "Representation of Localities"**

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

if it means anything, means the representation of the people of a locality ; and we have the well-known authority of Sir Boyle Roche (if authority were needed) for the truism that a man cannot be in two places at once—which is exactly what the plural voter claims to be. But, apart from this consideration, the argument is false. The historical basis of English political representation is not the locality, but the community ; and, in the days when travelling was a rare and expensive luxury, it was hardly possible for a man to be a member of more than one community. So soon as facilities for travelling afforded an opportunity for evasion of the original principle, the abuse was stopped by the earliest of our electoral statutes, which, in the year 1415, made residence an essential of the exercise of the county franchise, the borough franchise being guarded by other precautions. The property qualification was soon afterwards imposed as an additional restriction ; but the requirement of residence was not abolished until the late eighteenth century, a period not usually associated with a high degree of electoral purity. The Plural Voters Bill is, in fact, a thoroughly Conservative measure ; for the principle of “one man, one vote,” is one of the original principles of our electoral system.

An extremely important debate was initiated on May 9th by two Labour members, Mr. Vivian and Mr. Fenwick.

**The Reduction of Armaments** As the resolution which they moved was unanimously adopted by the House of Commons, and has excited deep interest and lively anticipations in every capital of Europe, it may be well to set out the actual words. Mr. Vivian moved :—

“ That this House is of opinion that the growth of expenditure on armaments is excessive, and ought to be reduced. Such expenditure lessens national and commercial credit, intensifies the unemployed problem, reduces the resources available for social reform, and presses with exceptional severity on the industrial

## NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

classes ; and the House therefore calls upon the Government to take drastic steps to reduce the drain on national income, and to this end to press for the inclusion of the question of the reduction of armaments by international agreement in the agenda of the forthcoming Hague Conference."

An attempt was made by one or two military members to whittle down the resolution ; but the House was entirely in sympathy with its whole purport, and was determined to preserve it entire and unaltered. Mr. J. M. Robertson suggested a return to the standard of 1898, and received a useful assurance from Sir Edward Grey that there is no truth in the statement about Japan having made any representation to us upon the subject of armaments. But the event of the evening was a thirteen minutes' speech by the Foreign Secretary, fully endorsing the resolution on behalf of the Government. Sir Edward Grey promised that he and his colleagues would do all they could to bring about a general reduction of armaments at the next Hague Conference. It is clear from Sir Edward Grey's brief, but luminous and inspiring utterance, that the Government as a whole has every intention of carrying out the programme of national retrenchment and international comity laid down by the Premier in his great speech at the Albert Hall. The words of the Foreign Secretary ring true. We earnestly hope that the Government and the House of Commons will receive equally loyal support from the War Office and the Admiralty. Hitherto, it must be admitted, economists have had but cold comfort from the heads of those two spending departments.

Mr. Asquith's first Budget was necessarily disappointing, because, in the first place, as we pointed out last month, no real attempt has been made at retrenchment  
**The Budget** either in the army or navy, and, in the second place, nothing whatever was done to improve existing taxes or to find fresh sources of revenue. It now appears that Mr. Haldane's new Army Estimates are nearly

a million in excess of last year's army expenditure, in spite of the fact that the numbers of the army have been reduced by 17,000 men. We trust that some explanation of this astonishing and disconcerting fact will be demanded ; for, at this rate the pledges that have been made cannot be fulfilled, and the expectations that were raised at the General Election will be miserably disappointed. There is still some hope, we believe, that the Three or Four Power shipbuilding programme will be curtailed to more reasonable proportions, as the Vote has been held over until after Whitsuntide. The best feature of the Budget is, undoubtedly, the restoration of the Sinking Fund. Mr. Asquith may be congratulated on having taken a real step to revive the national credit by providing for a reduction in the floating debt of nine millions in the current year, following upon a reduction of seven millions in the year that ended with March. As regards taxation, the abolition of the Coal Duty has given great satisfaction to the coal districts ; but, seeing that the export trade in coal has been constantly increasing, we should have liked the whole available surplus to go to the relief of the poor. Mr. Asquith took a penny off tea ; but, if he had maintained the Coal Duty for another year, and had raised the licence duties on the richer class of public houses, he could easily have halved the Sugar Duty or reduced the Tea Duties by a much more substantial amount. However, Mr. Asquith's finance is sound as far as it goes ; and there is good reason to expect a really popular and democratic Budget next year, when local taxation, the licence duties on public houses and motor cars, the Land Tax, and the Income Tax, will all come under review.

“ We are, every one, members one of another.” This is as true for evil as for good. And any one who will visit the Exhibition of Sweated Industries at the Queen's Hall may realise it with a new vividness. Just as every one who rides a bicycle or drives in a motor car is an indirect and unconscious agent of the Congo atrocities, so every one who plays the most

**Sweated  
Industries**

## NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

innocent game or wears the most necessary article of clothing, is probably contributing to the maintenance of some sweated trade. Our ties, our shirts, our brushes, are produced in the slums. Our tennis balls are sewn by women who have never seen the grass. Our gay sunshades are covered in sunless dens. Our military uniforms are embroidered by unhappier victims than those of war. Where our babies' bonnets are sewn, other babies are starving. Where the leaves of our Bibles are folded, the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount are outraged as directly as by any system of slavery. What is "sweating"? It has been officially defined as "unduly low rates of wages, excessive hours of labour, and insanitary state of work places." But the difficulty, for comfortable people, is to translate these terms into realities. The Exhibition helps a little; partly by what is there to be seen, partly by the collection of facts embodied in the Guide Book. We may learn there that "unduly low rates of wages" will mean, often enough, 5/- to 10/- a week, rents being anything from 2/- to 5/- or more. That "excessive hours" may mean 12, 14, 15, 16 a day. But what these figures mean, translated into terms of life, none but those who have lived the life can understand. Mr. Holmes, the police-court missionary, has described how he found one of these wretched match-box makers, who may be seen at work at the Queen's Hall. How he took her away to the sea. And how, day after day, she gazed at it with blank eyes, her fingers never ceasing to perform automatically the motions of her trade. "Sweating" may best be defined as a system for turning human beings into machines. And why does it go on? "Because of the wicked middle man," we used to say. But the middle man, it would seem, is a myth. "Then, because of the greedy employer." There are, no doubt, greedy employers. But, for the most part, the employer himself is a victim, condemned to oppress as his work people are condemned to be oppressed. "The sweater," says Mr. Sidney Webb, "is the whole nation. By the mere act of buying, we create and perpetuate the system. It is the direct and inevitable outcome of free competition. The cause is the pursuit of cheapness;

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

and that pursuit is a fact as stubborn as the law of gravitation.

It follows that there is no remedy except an interference with competition. Attempts have been made to cure the evil by a voluntary boycott of sweated goods.

**The Remedy** But such attempts appear to be foredoomed to failure. The evil must be checked at its source, and checked by law. The practical problem is to discover how. But much has been done towards the solution of this problem by the admirable men and women who, for years past, have been devoting themselves to the question. The principal suggestions made are :—(1) To establish a registry of all places where work is carried on, and to penalise the employer who gives out work to any save those who can show a certificate from the Factory Inspector that their house comes up to the required standard of sanitation ; (2) To establish wages boards of employers and employed to determine rates of pay. This measure has been adopted in Victoria with very good results. Wages have been fixed at living rates ; and, when this has occurred, “the trade has settled down without difficulty to the change, customer and employer alike benefiting by the increased efficiency of the workers.” For some years past Sir Charles Dilke has introduced a Bill to set up a similar machinery in England. Is it not time this Bill became law ? There is no more important subject demanding the attention of a Liberal Government. And it is satisfactory—though perhaps a trifle ironical—that the present Secretary of State for War has shown his desire to put an end to sweating-houses, by contributing an exhibition of goods in the act of being sweated for the army !

The strike among the French miners, recently terminated, seems to have been the outcome of many causes. A state of unrest had long prevailed in the mining districts of the North, where the hardships of the miners, the insolent display of wealth by some of the proprietary companies (in one

## NOTES ON CURRENT EVENTS

case the dividends declared being as high as 139 per cent.), the exactions of the agents, and the growing power of the workers' Unions, all tended to provoke a combat. The terrible disaster at Courrières, accompanied as it was by apparently well-founded suspicions of an indifference on the part of the management to the safety of the miners, added fuel to the flame, which was further fed by the machinations of unscrupulous politicians, who attempted to exploit the industrial situation for their own purposes. Finally, the approach of Labour Day, always a nervous period for Continental governments, brought matters to a crisis. Two features alone of the unhappy incident afford grounds for satisfaction. One was the behaviour of the troops, which, in spite of great provocation, was throughout excellent. The other is the result of the elections, which, notwithstanding the desperate efforts of all sections of the extremists, has given a substantial increase of strength to the Republican *bloc*. And this is satisfactory; for, despite its obvious imperfections, the Parliamentary Republic has proved itself, after a trial of thirty-five years, to be the one form of government capable of commanding the permanent confidence of the great mass of law-abiding citizens, and of adapting itself to modern conditions.

The Constitution granted to Russia with such apparent determination and pomp does not seem likely to last long, at least in the shape given to it by the

**The Russian Duma**      So-called "Fundamental Laws" published on the 8th of May. It was meant to be a rigid Constitution; but all elements will have to be revised if serious trouble, involving danger to the dynasty itself, is to be avoided. The Fundamental Laws represent an attempt of an incapable bureaucracy to bridle a national representation born of suffering and indignation. Perhaps the most striking expression of the antagonism between these two forces is to be found in the contrast between the two Houses of the Russian Parliament. One, the Duma, although elected by most intricate processes and divided into social groups with separate representation, is yet based, in the main, on



## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

household suffrage; and, as a matter of fact, it represents public opinion in its two main currents, that of the peasantry and that of the "intellectuals," led by the liberal professions. The other House, the Council of State, appears as a delegacy of bankrupt bureaucracy, and a stronghold of vested interests likely to be menaced by the popular movement. One may easily guess what the relations between the two legislative assemblies are likely to be; but it is difficult for outsiders to realize what elements of strength and authority the government of the Tsar hopes to derive from an assembly of discredited dignitaries and hated representatives of privilege. No wonder that the leaders selected to defend the last ditch of the old régime are selected from among the best known votaries of reaction; indeed two of them, Prince Shikhmatoff and M. Stishinsky, are chiefly remarkable as pupils of M. de Plehve and M. Pobedonostzeff. All these preparations remind one of the pasteboard bulwarks and wooden guns produced by the Chinese against the Anglo-French Peking expedition. Unhappily, they do not promise the unfortunate country a rapid cure of its internal troubles. It would suppose a more than human forbearance and wisdom on the part of the people and of its deputies, to expect them to find a peaceful way out of such difficulties. The ultimate triumph of the cause of progress is certain; but at what price will it be bought? And will not the results be largely affected by the outburst of another civil struggle? Next month we hope to publish an analysis by a distinguished Russian publicist on the prospects of the situation.

[We regret that we were obliged to print Dr. Rashdall's article on Archbishop Temple, in our last Number, without the author's corrections. The sentence: "Of him it must be said that, like most sensible men, he was not over wise," should have run: "Of him it *cannot* be said," etc.]

## THE FUTURE OF DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS

### I

**W**HAT is the force which has brought the Education Question into the fore-front of English politics, and compelled Governments to grapple with a problem which is as perilous to handle as dynamite, and as costly as a great war? It is true that, in some of the issues, religious controversy and denominational rivalry are both involved; but neither of these causes is strong enough to account for what has happened. For the real explanation we have to look elsewhere; and I believe we shall find it in the stir of a new conviction among the masses of the people, that in a kind of education, very different in range and quality from that which has passed muster hitherto in our public elementary schools, lies their children's best chance. The conviction is still, for the most part, inarticulate. It vaguely demands reform, without a very clear idea, in point of detail, of what it wants to get. And multitudes of those who have most to gain from great changes in educational opportunity are still indifferent to the need. But the conviction spreads. The fire is alight. The old situation is completely changed. What sufficed five years ago will suffice no longer. For what can be accomplished by skilfully directed education, the English people has in its heart at last begun to care.

The change has come, as all great changes do, through many things working together. A whole generation of the people has passed through the elementary schools, and has thus received a school-training in many ways incomparably better than that of its predecessors, however far short of

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

what it would be practicable and prudent to provide. The ground has thus been prepared for another great advance. And, concurrently with this, there has been a significant change in our habitual thinking about the influence of surroundings upon physical development and moral character. Scientific investigation has thrown a new and hopeful stress upon the importance of environment ; and the cause of social reform has been strengthened accordingly. The facilities of communication, the growth of large towns, the draining away of the old village and the settled countryside, the wider outlook on the world which has come through the influence of the Press, have made a new England,—urban, impressionable, ready for new ideas, capable of effective organisation, detached from old bonds of social custom, and prepared to welcome new developments of communal life. In the same period of years, national wealth has enormously increased. Plainly enough, we have the means for great public improvements which the collective interest demands. Along with all these other changes, industrial competition grows more intense. The strain is greater, the need for trained and mobile intelligence more urgent ; opportunities are more varied, risks more serious. And therefore men are led to think more of the importance of early training, which makes the body strong, the mind alert and supple, the hand and eye quick and true. They know what the schools have already done for England ; they hear what schools, better equipped than theirs, are doing for children in other lands ; and they become determined that English children shall have the best educational chance that skill and money can provide.

No change in national opinion is of greater promise than this. It carries with it, inevitably, great changes in the form and spirit of parts of our educational administration. Many things that used to be done by benevolent persons for the people, will in future be done out of public resources by the people for itself. The change will tear away certain forms of power and patronage from hands which have often, though not always, used them well. But influence will remain, greater influence than ever, for those whose single-minded purpose is to further the moral welfare of the State.

## THE FUTURE OF DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS

And, as it seems to me, the time has come unreservedly to face the new conditions, to welcome the new forces which make for educational reform, and to find a place in national education for the reality of religious conviction and self-sacrifice, without claiming vested rights, territorial monopolies, and social precedence. The essential thing, the one thing which matters most, is sincerity of conviction in spiritual things. Without this, whatever be its other merits, education loses its greatest power. But religious conviction has to prove its sincerity by its willingness to forego legal advantage, and by its readiness to sacrifice forms of control which have become obsolete through great changes in the national life.

For historical reasons, honourable for the most part to all concerned, old forms of denominational control have persisted, with very different degrees of real influence, over a much larger part of the surface of English elementary education than is any longer justified by personal or pecuniary sacrifice on the part of the Church chiefly concerned, or (so far as any proof is possible on the point) by strong preference for thorough-going denominational influence on the part of the inhabitants in many of the districts (chiefly country districts) in question. The essentials of religious influence in education will probably be strengthened and vitalised in those districts by the removal of forms of control which have become obsolete by the transfer of financial burdens to the public charge, and are regarded as a social grievance by many who have seen them so used as to thwart the just claims of religious freedom in village life. But the debates and controversies which arise as soon as any attempt is made to touch these traditional forms of control, obscure the larger issues which lie behind the new movement of educational change. We see things through the dust of denominational controversy, and lose sight of matters which most urgently call for reform, if the schools, as places of education, are to do the work which the nation needs. Before stating, therefore, what seems to me the case for retaining as a factor in English national education the strong traditions of organised religious life, I would remind the reader of the weaknesses in our public elementary school-

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

system which ought to be removed, but cannot be got rid of save by means of a united and persistent effort on the part of all, Churchmen, Nonconformists, Catholics, or Secularists alike, who sincerely mean, at whatever necessary cost, to help forward educational reform in the interests of the whole people.

Thus to dwell upon what now needs to be done for the betterment of primary education in England, is no disparagement of the great work which has already been accomplished by the English elementary schools. In the teeth of great difficulties, hampered in many ways by tough prejudice and by lack of means, our schools have been by far the most potent force for social improvement in the large towns during the last thirty years. Step by step they have won the confidence of the people. The best tribute to their value is the conviction, that the conditions under which they have hitherto had to work should now be changed.

As a sort of frontispiece to the Code, the Board of Education publishes an attractive picture of the task of a public elementary school. It is to train the children carefully in habits of observation and clear reasoning. It is to arouse in them a living interest in the ideals and achievements of mankind, "to bring them to some familiarity with the literature and history of their own country, and to give them some power over language as an instrument of thought and expression." It is also, but without sacrificing the interests of the majority of the children, to discover among them individuals who show promise of exceptional capacity, and to develop their special gifts. The natural activities of hand and eye are to be encouraged to the utmost by suitable forms of practical work and manual instruction. Every opportunity is to be given for healthy physical development, by appropriate bodily exercises, by the encouragement of organised games, and by instruction in the simpler laws of health. So far for the intellectual and physical sides of education. On the ethical, the Board points out that the teachers,

"though their opportunities are but brief, can yet do much to lay the foundations of conduct. They can

## THE FUTURE OF DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS

endeavour, by example and influence, aided by the sense of discipline which should pervade the school, to implant in the children habits of industry, self-control, and courageous perseverance in the face of difficulties. They can teach them to reverence what is noble, to be ready for self-sacrifice, and to strive their utmost after purity and truth. They can foster a strong respect for duty, and that consideration and respect for others which must be the foundation of unselfishness and the true basis of all good manners."

The corporate life of the school, especially in the playground, is to develop the instinct for fair play and loyalty to one another which is the germ of a wider sense of honour in later life. And, in all its endeavours, the school is urged to enlist the interest and co-operation of the parents and the home, in a united effort to enable the children, not merely to reach their full development as individuals, but also to become upright and useful members of the community in which they live, and of the country to which they belong.

We are far indeed from having reached this ideal. Yet reached it can be ; and to reach it is surely one of the most pressing of all national duties. But, in order that we may get on the way towards this good end, one great administrative change in the inner life of our large elementary schools is necessary. The classes must be made smaller. At present the Board of Education recognises a certificated assistant teacher as sufficient for sixty children in average attendance. But no teacher can really do for more than thirty children what the Board rightly declares that he should aim at doing, and what it is a vital national interest to get effectually done. The system of large classes blunts the edge of the teacher's work. In a class of fifty or sixty children, the special needs and difficulties of each pupil cannot be dealt with individually. Those who do not understand are carried along with the ruck. There is not time enough to encourage questions, still less to follow up the fruitful clues which children's questions suggest. The children who learn slowly (and these have often the greater capacity for retaining what they have once clearly under-

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

stood) cannot be given, in spite of the teacher's best efforts, the careful, repeated, individual help which they need. They are taken past many points of difficulty, without being made to understand them. Under exemplary conditions of external discipline, and partly because of those very conditions, great numbers of children miss the best thing that, on the intellectual side, a school can give. They are not taught how to think for themselves. There is too much smooth hurry about the work for that to be possible. A certain amount of ground has to be covered by the class; and there is no time to wait until the slower ones have, in Locke's word, "bottomed" what they were expected to learn. Yet, under a system of large classes, all this has to be put up with as inevitable, while in reality it is fatal to the intellectual efficacy of much of our elementary school teaching. And, with this failure to make the children think for themselves, there goes, by natural consequence, a failure to train them in the power of expressing themselves in their mother tongue. The effort of thinking clearly and independently cannot be dispensed with as part of the training of effective self-expression.

What I am saying is felt by thousands of excellent teachers in our schools. They know that the conditions under which many of them have to work, prevent them from training individual children as they should be trained. The result is, that much of the teaching does not strike root in the children's minds. The teacher does too much of the work; the children do too little for themselves. Inevitably the master or mistress becomes too much the pourer-out of information. The children listen, and quickly forget. They become too dependent upon the teacher's words. Self-direction in work, the most valuable thing of all, finds far too small a place in a system in which the teacher is practically forced to form a habit of discoursing to rows of listeners, but has little time to find out how much of the discourse has been assimilated by those who have listened to it. There grows up a false standard of what it is wise to aim at in teaching young children. Those who frame the courses of study forget how little ground a teacher can cover, if his work is to leave a deep and permanent

## THE FUTURE OF DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS

impression upon the mind. Children of special ability, though they suffer, like their less gifted companions, from lack of individual teaching, get from any competent teacher the stimulus and help which enables them to advance in their studies. But those who learn with difficulty, and whose progress has to be slower, are placed at an unnecessary disadvantage by the conditions under which the work of a large and varied class is done. Their education suffers through too many separate subjects being crowded into the time-table, instead of a few things being taught thoroughly, with simplicity of language but with a constant perception of the bearing of one study upon another, and with emphasis upon the connections which link together what is learnt. Where classes are large, the conditions of a teacher's work make it extraordinarily difficult for him to adopt methods of teaching which stimulate and train independent thinking among his pupils. And the effects of this are bad both ways, because a learner's pertinent questions are the best stimulus to fresh thought and wider reading on the part of the teacher himself.

In a multitude of schools, especially in the country districts, the clever children do not get a fair chance. The higher classes are grouped together, and taught with insufficient regard to the needs of pupils at different stages of advancement. This is done because the staff of teachers is insufficient to provide the more advanced instruction which some of the children ought to receive. Thus many of the most promising pupils have virtually to mark time, when under right conditions they would make rapid progress. Here again the defects call for the same remedy—more teachers in proportion to the number of children in the school. But in the smaller country schools it will always be impossible to provide many facilities for higher work. It is therefore desirable that certain schools, so placed as to be within reach of more than one village, should be strengthened by the addition of a higher department in which more advanced work could be done. In some cases it will be advisable to build a new central school, fully equipped as a higher elementary school, to serve the needs of the surrounding districts, and then to organise means of



## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

transporting the children to it from the neighbouring villages. Elementary education in the rural districts needs generous help from public funds, in order that the day and evening schools may give a fair intellectual opportunity to families living in the country.

I need do no more than allude in passing to other items in the formidable list,—the better care of the physical condition of the children, the encouragement of manual training, the more liberal aid of higher elementary schools in town and country, the systematic provision of practical continuation classes for pupils who have finished the course in the elementary schools, and the improvement of secondary education. These needs are all bound up together as parts of one problem. They will entail great expenditure. But money alone will not provide what is wanted. The driving force must come from strong public opinion, from the united efforts of the teachers and the parents, from the great trades—employers and workpeople alike—and from the local authorities. What is wanted is little short of a revolution in the old standard of what was thought sufficient in elementary education. There will be plenty of opposition to this in any case ; and it will be the part of wisdom to secure, so far as may be, the support of all who, whatever their religious beliefs, are persuaded of the need for large educational reforms. Nothing would more effectively thwart the hopes of steady and systematic advance in educational matters, in which as a nation we have lagged behind, than, in opening a new chapter in our educational history, to give cause for deep resentment on the part of men and women with strong religious convictions.

## II

In the history of elementary education, two chief forces have worked for the better care of the children of the poor. One is the personal devotion of men and women inspired by religious belief, and free to make that belief, according to their judgment of the nature of the children under their care, felt throughout the influences and observances of school life. The other is a profound sense of the unfairness of removable

## THE FUTURE OF DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS

inequalities in social opportunity, and a desire to lessen such inequalities by methods of education which will furnish the community with citizens who are physically vigorous and intellectually alert. The first has done its greatest work among the very poor ; the other among those who are better able to seize new opportunities. Each has been influenced by the work and ideas of the other. Our modern conception of elementary education would be poor if it had not been for the labours of La Salle and the Christian Brothers, of the founders of the Puritan Common Schools, and of the German Pietists. It would have been one-sided and rigid without the influence of Rousseau, of Robert Owen, George Combe, and Herbert Spencer ; and but for the moving protest of Socialism.

The second of these two forces does not lack a fair chance in modern education. The first seems likely to be in worse case. But these schools, schools of minorities, represent a great force in education. They are the outcome of strong religious conviction. Their work presupposes a form of management which is incompatible with the exigencies of local control. They stand for an ideal of their own ; and others, who do not share their convictions, may nevertheless learn much from their methods and from the spirit of their work.

In Mr. Birrell's Bill a place is left for such schools, provided that they conform, as it is just that they should be required to do, with the regulations of the State in regard to the efficiency of their secular teaching. They would be counted as "certified efficient schools," and, as such, be recognised for purposes of school attendance. They are given no territorial rights. The local authority will enjoy freedom to establish, in any part of its area, a school under its own control. The vested interests of existing voluntary schools, safeguarded by the Act of 1870 and attenuated by that of 1902, are swept away. The local authority will be master in its own house. No single-school areas need, if it so determines, be left under denominational control. The schools which remain under other than public control will thus, in any case, be a relatively small minority, subsidiary to the general system. But, unless section 96 of the Elementary

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

Education Act is added to the list of sections repealed in 1902 or by the present Bill, it will not be possible for any such certified efficient school to be admitted to a share in the Parliamentary grant. Now, were such schools anti-national in spirit, the State would be justified, in self-defence, in refusing them aid or sanction, if it did not actually suppress them. But no such suspicion attaches to an Anglican, or Catholic, or Jewish school in England, or to any other denominational school which would hold a similar position.

It deserves consideration, therefore, whether such certified efficient schools should not be permitted to earn their share of the Parliamentary grant. They will exist in any case; for they represent tenacious conviction. This being so, it is expedient that the State should help them to keep up with the rising standard of secular efficiency, rather than leave them in poverty and, therefore, liable to sink below the normal standard of staffing and equipment. Their admission to a share in the Parliamentary grant would remove what would otherwise be felt as an injustice. It would open a way for the continuance of denominational schools, as a minority, without embarrassing the administration of the local authority. It would relieve the latter from many difficult questions relating to existing endowments. It would throw upon the supporters of the schools in question the duty of paying the whole cost over and above what was received from the Parliamentary grant—a duty which would test the sincerity of their conviction. And the efficient maintenance of the two sets of schools side by side—not linked, as hitherto, in a dual system which embarrasses the action of the local authorities, but enjoying non-conflicting recognition—would ensure a fruitful variety of influence in English education.

Met in this way at its most difficult point, the religious difficulty in schools under the administration of the local authority would be reduced to more manageable limits. And, for that difficulty, will not the simplest solution be, to leave all forms of religious teaching to be arranged and paid for by the denominations or other bodies concerned; to limit the obligation of the local authority to the granting of

## THE FUTURE OF DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS

such facilities ; to give the teachers the full protection of a conscience clause, but also freedom to undertake the duty of giving religious instruction if they so desire ; and, by the omission of section 6, to bring the period assigned to religious instruction (or to a secular alternative, if the parents so prefer) within the regular limits of school-attendance. Such an arrangement would deal fairly with all forms of religious belief among the parents of children attending the public elementary schools. It would aid none in preference to others. It could be adopted in schools of all grades under local authorities. It would guarantee, so far as in these matters any guarantee is possible, the reality of the religious teaching, and would permit it to be given by those who know the children best and have most experience in teaching them. It would recognise religious teaching as, subject to a conscience clause, part of the regular curriculum of the school. And it would throw the duty of providing such instruction upon the bodies best fitted to undertake it—a course which would certainly be followed by concerted action on the part of members of many Churches to secure the maintenance of a simple form of religious teaching, which would express the unity of Christian people in common worship and a common hope.

M. E. SADLER

## ANTI-MILITARISM IN FRANCE

**A**NTI-MILITARISM is the product of compulsory military service.

In 1870, France incurred a terrible defeat. She had excellent soldiers ; but the army had no solid organisation, the arsenals and magazines were empty, the ignorance and stupidity of the General Staff were equalled only by its infatuation. In the decisive engagements of the Franco-German War, notably at the Battle of Rezonville, the French were superior in number ; they were ruined by the ineptitude or treachery of their Generals. After the *débâcle*, to soothe the national vanity, currency was given to the legend that the French army had been crushed by numbers.

Then, to prepare for revenge, it was necessary to recruit huge battalions, and to adopt the system of the "nation in arms : " that is to say, of universal compulsory service.

This was accomplished by the Law of 1872. Henceforth, in principle, every Frenchman was reckoned a soldier from the age of 20 to 45, and had to serve in barracks for *five* years from 20 to 25. But sons of widows, eldest brothers of large families, young men who could pass a certain examination, or produce certain diplomas, and pay £60, had only to serve *one* year. Thus the bourgeoisie conferred on themselves an enormous privilege ; their sons need spend in barracks only one year instead of five.

In 1889, compulsory service was reduced to three years ; and the one-year service was retained, without any money payment, for students possessed of various grades or diplomas. The bourgeoisie retained their privilege ; for none but their sons could afford the outlay required for long study and the acquisition of University degrees. The privilege was all the

## ANTI-MILITARISM IN FRANCE

greater, that it not only shortened the period, but it reduced the perils of military service. During the last thirty years of European peace, France has undertaken great colonial conquests, in Indo-China, in Madagascar, and on the African Continent. Having no colonial army, she has conducted these wars with home troops. As it was impossible to send on these expeditions, after a period of training, men who were only bound to one year of service, (that is to say, the sons of the bourgeoisie), those only were despatched who were bound to three years, (that is to say, the sons of peasants and artisans).

In other words, the military Law, while ostensibly applying equally to all, imposed on the poor a burden three times heavier, measured by duration, and indefinitely heavier if measured by danger, than that imposed on the other classes. The very title of the Law, "equal for all," became a lie.

However, under this system, every one went through the barracks. Professional officers only were exempt, because they went straight to the "Grandes Écoles," whence they passed out with the epaulettes. So that the somewhat surprising fact might be observed: that the French officer was the only Frenchman who was never a soldier, and that the only way not to be a soldier in France was, to become an officer.

In spite of the considerable privileges enjoyed by young men of the well-to-do classes, it is certainly they who were the originators of anti-militarism. Neither young peasants nor young artisans found barrack life disagreeable, while young men of the middle-class could not endure, even for a short time, the bad food, the degrading promiscuity, the dirt, the gross vices, the low moral tone, the incurable sottishness, of the military environment. Their disgust produced a whole literature. A swarm of young writers, just escaped from the regiments, exposed the blemishes and vices of the military system, in novels which produced a veritable scandal.

Meantime, the memories of the Franco-German war were dying out. The generation which had endured the defeat, and had not had the courage to take their revenge, no longer found an audience when they preached hatred of

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

Germany. The new generation did not think themselves bound to espouse the rancours of the old ; they had before them other and more attractive work. They thought it absurd to be always talking of vengeance, when it was clear that no one was thinking about it.

In 1875 appeared in Paris a brochure which expressed the views of the young generation, and which marks a date in the history of anti-militarism. It was entitled *Sur la Guerre*, and it summarised, with singular force, all the arguments which have been since developed against the atrocity of war, the ignominy of the barrack system, the economic, moral, and social absurdity of compulsory military service. For the first time since 1870, some one had dared to scoff at the military idea, the military spirit, military institutions, and the hope of revenge.

Such was the position of affairs when, in 1897, the *Affaire Dreyfus* occurred. At first, the few friends and co-religionists of the Jewish captain, who had determined to get his sentence reversed, attacked only his judges and his butchers : that is to say, a little coterie of the General Staff. But, as they could not hope to triumph unaided, they appealed to various auxiliaries. Among these, there were some who were but moderately interested in the cause of the Jewish captain, but who saw in the *Affaire* an admirable opportunity for anti-militarist propaganda.

It is this which explains the violent commotion which shook all France at this epoch. Abroad, foreign observers concerned themselves exclusively with the private melodrama of Alfred Dreyfus. In France, two battles were going on at the same time : one, between the General Staff and the personal defenders of Dreyfus ; the other, far more important and far more interesting, between the conservative forces of the nation and the revolutionary forces which were determined to take advantage of the occasion.

The revision of the Dreyfus case in itself would have been only a judicial incident ; of which the principal episode was the condemnation of Zola. But, alongside of the judicial campaign of Zola and Clemenceau, and in the same journal in which they carried it on, one of their collaborators conducted, every day for four whole years, a formidable

## ANTI-MILITARISM IN FRANCE

campaign against the army itself as an institution, against military legends and prejudices, against military vices and crimes, against the barrack system and compulsory service. These articles were read with sympathy or with fury by millions of Frenchmen, who were following with curiosity the episodes of the Dreyfus romance. Collected under the title *L'Armée contre la Nation*, they were prosecuted in the Court of Assize ; and the same jury of the Seine which had condemned Zola, the defender of Dreyfus, acquitted the author of *L'Armée contre la Nation*.

At once the *Affaire Dreyfus* emerged from the region of the Law Courts, and became the prologue of a great revolutionary drama. The anti-militarist movement, hitherto confused, timid, dispersed, received an irresistible impulse. It was no longer a question of saving an army captain, one victim among ten thousand, and the least attractive of all. It was a question of destroying the military institutions which were crushing, decimating, and rotting the nation.

While the writer who had been acquitted was indefatigably pursuing his work, embodying his views in new books, and in some hundreds of articles, supported by innumerable documents, while he was giving life to his thesis by the constant delivery of lectures, the impunity assured to him by the Parisian jury was everywhere calling to the field new apostles.

The supreme military authorities who were responsible for the disasters of 1870, had lost what remained of their prestige in the campaigns of Tonkin and Madagascar. They had shown themselves always ignorant, always infatuated, wasting in imbecility the gold of the nation and the blood of the troops, entirely absorbed in promotion, intrigue, and in petty jealousies. In the *Affaire Dreyfus*, they lost even their moral decency and their private honour.

What, then, had been the use of the enormous sacrifices made by the French people for thirty years ? They had enriched, by scandalous means, army contractors, Generals, and corrupt politicians ; they had achieved an inglorious glory by the pillage of Peking and the massacre of Hovas, Soudanese, or Annamites ; but certainly they had not preserved the dignity of the country in its relations with the



## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

Great Powers. The Reports of the Budget Committee, especially the famous Reports of MM. Cavaignac, C. Pelletan, Lockroy, (all ex-Ministers), had revealed an abyss of disorder and corruption, and demonstrated the worthlessness of the army organisation after an expenditure of thirty milliards.

Meantime, the barrack system continued its ravages, disintegrating the characters, brutalising the intelligences, infecting the bodies—in a word, effecting the ruin of the French race. The system was maintained whereby five hundred thousand young men were taken away from their studies or their work, and converted into unproductive consumers, to lose, in a deplorable environment, their taste for work, their physical and moral purity, their dignity as men, their respect for women, and to become the prey of the most disgusting diseases, which they afterwards propagated throughout the country.

For the barrack is the focus of tuberculosis, alcoholism, and typhoid fever.

The troops who come to the regiment with the germs of tuberculosis are hurried rapidly to the acute stage of the disease by over-fatigue, insufficient nourishment, insanitary conditions, and chills. They spit on the floor of the common rooms, and they infect their neighbours. Bacilli mixed with the dust are scattered over the tables on which the bread and cooking utensils are placed. The disease is thus propagated extensively. Some of the sick die in hospital; others, to the number of five thousand a year, are sent back to their families, that is, to the homes of peasants or artisans, and there infect the whole neighbourhood. Doctors calculate that the five thousand tuberculous soldiers thus annually discharged, make fifty thousand victims in the civil population. Syphilis and other diseases of the kind are contracted to a frightful extent by the unhappy youths who come from their villages to the garrisons in the towns, and are enticed to the public houses and haunts of vice. Shame prevents them from applying in time for the necessary treatment; they carry away with them, and spread, throughout the rural districts, this plague which once was unknown in the healthy countryside.

## ANTI-MILITARISM IN FRANCE

Alcoholism, again, is a product of the barracks. Formerly the French drank a great deal of wine, which produced a gay and inoffensive form of intoxication. At the barracks, young men acquire the stupid habit of competing with one another in the consumption of alcohols which are veritable poisons. To this habit in the end they become slaves. They carry their fatal passion into civil life. The ravages of alcoholism in France, and the resultant increase of general debilitation, have coincided with universal military service.

Again, the barrack is the favourite nest of typhoid fever, the victims of which among soldiers, that is, among picked men, full of vitality, are proportionately eight times as many as among the civil population. The filth of the soldier, underneath the splendour of his uniform, is proverbial. The diet, insufficient in quantity and deplorable in quality (because the contractors, the subalterns, the cooks, and many of the officers, are in league to realise criminal profits) undermines the health of all the youth of France, and leaves them enfeebled for the battle of life and the duties of paternity.

Military life, in short, is a school of cruelty and brutality. It is also a school of moral cowardice, because everybody learns to tremble before his superior officers, and to submit without resistance to injustice and maltreatment at their hands, with the deliberate intention of avenging himself with impunity upon the weakness of his subordinates.

The Laws of 1872 and 1889 attached to certain university diplomas the privilege of an important reduction in the period of military service; and the result has been a noticeable decline in the intellectual culture of France. A number of young people who have neither vocation nor capacity for literary, legal, or medical studies, have nevertheless applied for diplomas, and obtained them by all sorts of means, with a view to escaping the five or three years' term of service. Higher education has thus become a factory of doctors, lawyers, engineers, and would-be experts of every kind, many of them utterly incapable. In this way France has lost one of her most precious advantages.

The anti-militarist campaign carried on under cover of

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

the *Affaire Dreyfus* brought into relief all the aspects of the problem. The people were made to understand the frightful exploitation to which they were subjected under the pretext of patriotism and national defence. While the rich Jews, and a few bourgeois enthusiasts for justice, were thinking only of saving an individual, the people came to regard the *Affaire* as a means of destroying the "killing machine." Episode by episode, the apostles of anti-militarism examined, scrutinised, analysed, the continental and colonial wars of the last fifty years, and showed everywhere that the origin of these hecatombs was not a national interest nor a generous sentiment, but a financial speculation. Day by day, in all the incidents of social life, the people saw that this army, incapable of recapturing Strasburg or Metz, was perpetually employed in defeating the demands of the working classes. The weapon of the workers, when they are oppressed or injured, is the strike. But whenever there is a strike in France, the Government sends infantry and cavalry to intimidate the strikers, to beat them with the butt-end of the rifle and the flat of the sword, sometimes to shoot them down, more often to carry on, in the interests of the employers, the work abandoned by the labourers.

At Fourmies, at Longwy, at Châlon, at Limoges, at Hennebont, at François, French soldiers have killed French workers, including women, who had stopped work to get a rise of wages. And these soldiers who kill workmen were themselves workmen before they shouldered the rifle, and will be workmen again after they leave the barracks. It is on their comrades, sometimes on their relatives, that discipline and the interests of capitalists compel them to fire. The parvenu politicians of the Republic, to prove themselves statesmen, take pleasure in displaying to the working proletariat a brutality that the Monarchy or the Empire would never have dared to display.

The propaganda spread rapidly, not only in France, but abroad.

It found expression in 1901, in a really imposing demonstration. In that year the representatives of more than five hundred groups of the anti-militarist youth of France, Belgium, Austria, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Bulgaria,

## ANTI-MILITARISM IN FRANCE

proposed unanimously, for the Nobel peace prize, the author of the *L'Armée contre la Nation*. As they were not qualified to present a candidate, their demonstration was purely platonic. But it revealed a very significant state of mind in the young generation throughout the whole of militarist Europe.

“We are,” said these young men, “the International League of conscripts and soldiers, formed to oppose war. It is we who are the food for cannon, and we who are the best judges of the means of securing peace. The drawing-room and academic candidates that will be presented to you are exceedingly respectable. For six thousand years well-intentioned friends of peace have denounced war in verse and prose. But they have never prevented a single war. We believe there is only one sure way of preventing war; that is, to teach the people not to permit it any longer . . . .”

“War must be attacked in its instrument—in armies, militarism, military men, the barracks, military service. What is the use of the humanitarian manifestoes of Sovereigns, Ministers, diplomats, who leave the Hague Congress to organise the horrible Chinese War? We, for our part, speak directly to the people, and by preference to the young men who wear, or are about to wear, the uniform. It is in the heart of those whom war crushes that we awaken the horror of war, and the resolution not to endure it any longer . . . .”

This document marked a new epoch in the anti-militarist propaganda. Thenceforth the movement, which had been started by men of letters, was to be conducted by the interested parties themselves, by the youth of the working classes. The huge flock of victims was itself to attempt to escape from the slaughter-house. In Paris, the General Federation of Labour, that is to say, the central federal organisation of all the Trade Unions in France, took up the propaganda. It published brochures, especially a *Soldier's Manual*, which summed up the substance of earlier publications, and distributed them by hundreds of thousands

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

in labour exchanges, factories, workshops, even in the barracks. The *Soldier's Manual* was prosecuted before the jury of the Seine, and acquitted ; the trial served to increase its circulation among the working people.

Numerous journals were started to excite among the young contempt for the military career, disgust with the barrack system, horror of war, and a determination not to take part against the workers in economic conflicts. One of these journals, the *Pioupiau*, was four times prosecuted at the assizes of the Yonne, and four times acquitted. Each of these acquittals gave a new impulse to the propaganda, and fresh courage to the propagandists.

The Catholic party had long been trying to win the affections of the soldiers ; it had opened Soldiers' Homes in garrison towns, where they were provided with books, amusements, refreshments, and the comforts of religion. The working-class organisations followed this example ; they saw that the worker turned soldier ought to remain in touch with his working-men comrades, and that this was the best way to avoid bloodshed in time of strikes. The labour exchanges accordingly opened their doors to soldiers, who found there, not only all sorts of conveniences and attractions, but also revolutionary counsels. Lectures, journals, brochures, were brought to bear ; and leagues were formed to defend the soldier when he had been ill-treated by his officers, to deliver him when he had been condemned by unjust judges, to assist him when he had deserted, to recompense him if he remained faithful to the proletarian cause in case of battle. Three hundred thousand workmen among the members of the Trade Unions took part in the anti-militarist propaganda.

One scruple was felt by many citizens : the fear of disarming France in the presence of possible adversaries who would remain in arms. To dispose of this objection, it was necessary to show clearly that the anti-militarist movement was not limited to France, but was being carried on at the same time, by the same means, with the same success, in neighbouring countries. The anti-militarist associations of the whole continent, which had already taken joint action in 1901 in the Memoir to the Nobel

## ANTI-MILITARISM IN FRANCE

Committee, met again in 1904 at the Congress of Amsterdam.

The result of their deliberations was a new organisation, the *Association Internationale Anti-militariste*, known more commonly by its initials "A. I. A." Its programme is indicated by its title, and consists in the co-ordination of efforts, throughout the whole world, to accomplish the abolition of war by the suppression of the military instrument. Governments assert that armies are necessary, because wars are inevitable ; anti-militarists assert that the existence of armies is the most active cause of wars. In any case, war will no longer be possible, if armies cease to exist. Already it is almost impossible, because Governments dare not use the existing armies ; the anti-militarist propaganda has been so fruitful, in Germany and in Italy as well as in France, that the masters no longer dare to arm three or four millions of their subjects, and are afraid of seeing their soldiers turn against themselves.

Anti-militarism in its decisive intervention twice influenced the destinies of Europe in 1905. It is almost established now, that the Emperor William II. had serious thoughts of intervening in Russian Poland, to crush the revolution, just as the Tsar Nicholas I. intervened in 1848 to crush the revolution in Hungary. But his Ministers dissuaded him. They believed that, though it would still be possible to mobilise the army for a war of national defence, by invoking the honour and safety of the Fatherland, it would be impracticable to arm the German people to fight insurgents, Polish or other, in the name of the absolutist principle and the divine right of kings.

Again, at the most critical junction of the Morocco dispute, in the middle of the year 1905, when the French Minister Delcassé was urging his country and all Europe towards a bloody catastrophe, one of the arguments of M. Rouvier, the French Premier, was, that the army, and especially the mass of the working-class who make up the reserves, had been too much influenced by the anti-militarist propaganda for it to be safe to encounter so terrible a risk.

That is to say, the anti-militarists have some right to boast, that twice in 1905 they saved the peace of the world,

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

saved their respective countries from ruin, saved 500,000 men, or double the number, from death : a result which has never been attained by academic and drawing-room "pacifistes," seeing that the diplomatic farce at the Hague was followed by the horrible Chinese expedition, and the frightful Russo-Japanese war.

The reward of such a service was not too long delayed.

In the autumn of 1905, as rumours of war were persistent, as the Algeiras Conference was fostering the general unrest, and as the date was approaching for the enrolment of the French recruits, the International Anti-militarist Association drew up a manifesto, and decided to placard it throughout France. This document was deliberately couched in violent language, to compel the attention of the public, and to force the Government to show its hand. Two pieces of advice were, as usual, given to the young soldiers : first, that in case of war with a foreign Power, they should refuse to be massacred themselves, or to kill their brothers from abroad in the interest of combinations of speculators ; second, that in the case of disturbances at home, they should decline to be murderers, and to shoot or cut down their fellow-citizens, their comrades of the workshop, their own families, in the interest of capitalists. And woe to the officers who should attempt to compel them to commit fratricide.

In general, this language was not new. It was the substance of the anti-militarist propaganda for the past ten years ; it was the common place of all the meetings, and of a thousand brochures and journals. But, at this precise moment, it was necessary for the Rouvier Ministry to make a demonstration of its patriotism. Revelations had been made as to the circumstances in which M. Delcassé had quitted the Foreign Office in the month of June. On the 7th of October, the principal Parisian journals were charging M. Rouvier, in violent terms, with having sacrificed his colleagues to the wishes of Germany, and humiliating France, etc. On the same day, to make a diversion and to prove his patriotism, M. Rouvier ordered the prosecution of the A. I. A. Twenty-eight members of the Committee of this Association, who had signed the placard, were brought

## ANTI-MILITARISM IN FRANCE

before the Assize Court under the double charge, first of inviting soldiers to disobey orders, and, second, (because they were endeavouring to prevent slaughter) of inciting to murder.

The trial lasted a whole week before the jury of the Seine. The accused, who conducted their own defence, gave a complete account of anti-militarism and its motives. The very variety of their points of view, of their sentiments, of their expressions, which, however, all converged towards the same point, made the discussion very interesting.

Two of these men belonged to the most cultivated class of the nation ; and the ardour of their apostolate had brought them both four or five times before the Assize Court, from which they had always returned victorious. The first was the scholar and combatant who, by his *L'Armée contre la Nation*, by many other works, by a thousand articles and lectures, had secured in 1901 the votes of all the youth of Europe ; the second was a professor of history, agrégé of the university, who, in consequence of the generous courage of his teaching, had been deprived of his Chair and persecuted by the Republican inquisition. All the rest of the accused were workers, manual labourers, members of Trade Unions and delegates of the labour exchanges. They represented those three hundred members of the General Federation of Labour who, for some years past, had assumed the direction of the anti-militarist propaganda.

Their statements were frank, even brutal. And all the General Secretaries of the Unions, who were summoned as witnesses, spoke in the same sense. While almost all the accused were manual workers, there was not a single workman on the jury. It was not then, as the Constitution and our lying laws assert, a trial of peers by their peers ; it was a confrontation of two hostile classes, the class of the exploited on its trial before the class of exploiters. Never was the situation more clear or more tragic.

The jury listened with interest, and even with sympathy, to the philosophic and political expositions of the two "intellectuals ;" but it was terrified by the revolutionary perspectives opened by the workmen, whether accused or witnesses. The working-class were face to face with the



## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

bourgeoisie ; and they cried to it : " We will no longer be dupes, we will no longer be victims ; we will no longer permit our sons and comrades, disguised as soldiers, to keep us under the yoke for the benefit of employers ; we will no longer kill nor die in the cause of our oppressors." When the feeble and comfortable bourgeois of the jury had listened to this clamour during six sessions, he thought that he saw the spectacle of the Revolution confronting him.

Throughout the preliminaries of the trial, and throughout the proceedings at the Assize Court, the Government and the Conservative Press spared no effort to excite the public against the accused. For Parisian juries have always been reluctant to declare that certain opinions are heretical and blasphemous, and to strike at men who permit themselves to differ in opinion from the Government. A fresh acquittal, resulting in a fresh outburst of propaganda, would have been a calamity in the eyes of the Government. Accordingly, in various towns throughout France, arrests and prosecutions were multiplied against other citizens guilty of having held the same language as the A. I. A., or of having published its manifesto.

The jury returned a verdict of " Guilty " ; but a verdict which betrayed its moral confusion. Of twenty-eight persons, all guilty of the same act, and assuming the same responsibility, two were acquitted, and twenty-six condemned to periods of imprisonment of six months, a year, two years, three years, four years. The following month, three trials for the same offences took place in the Departments. At Amiens and Brest, the accused were acquitted ; at Marseilles they were sentenced to fifteen days' imprisonment. These sentences brought into relief the iniquitous severity of the Parisian verdict.

Immediately the A. I. A. replied by a new placard. The condemned manifesto re-appeared on the walls with 2,500 signatures, of which 560 were supplied by citizens of Paris. The Government was much embarrassed ; it determined to order prosecution, but to draw out the proceedings until the approach of the National Fête (25th July), when a general amnesty will disembarass it of this awkward business.

If the trial ever takes place, the A. I. A. has ready a

## ANTI-MILITARISM IN FRANCE

third edition of the placard, supported by 25,000 signatures. The movement has assumed such an impetus, that nothing will stop it. It would be encouraged by impunity ; it is accelerated by severity.

Anti-militarism has even received reinforcements which it never expected. The French Catholics comprise the most conservative part of the nation ; they were therefore, in spite of the commandments of Christ, strongly opposed to the destruction of armies and the abolition of war. But the dispersion of the Congregations, the denunciation of the Concordat, the inventories taken in the churches, have occasioned military interventions, acts of violence, indiscipline, and mutiny, which have had a great effect on public opinion. A large number of Catholic officers, in the presence of their troops, have formally refused to execute the orders of their superior officers, because those orders outraged their conscience as Catholics.

The mutinous officers have been brought before courts-martial composed of their peers and their chiefs. And these courts-martial, which are constantly condemning to years of imprisonment or of the galleys soldiers guilty of refusing to obey orders, have invariably acquitted, or sentenced to imprisonment for one day, officers guilty of the same offence ; because these officers had obeyed the voice of their conscience.

Now the people clearly see that the conscience of a soldier is as respectable as the conscience of an officer. If the law and the rules of discipline ought to be silent when the conscience of a Catholic officer forbids him to violate a sanctuary, they ought equally to be silent when the conscience of the anti-militarist soldier forbids him to cut down or shoot his comrades, when the conscience of the Christian soldier cries to him : "Thou shalt do no murder."

Nor do the people understand why the anti-militarists of the A. I. A. are kept in prison for having expressed a simple opinion, for having given a simple piece of advice ; while mutinous officers are acquitted and even applauded, for having committed an act, a deliberate act, which teaches soldiers disobedience better than any manifesto or pamphlet.

To conclude. During the last few weeks, after the

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

catastrophe of the Courrières mines, German miners from Westphalia have hastened of their own accord to the scene of disaster, have descended the shafts and traversed the galleries in search of victims, and shown an extraordinary heroism. Are these men enemies? Does patriotism command us to hate them? If French working men should consent to fire upon these admirable men, would they not be monsters?

Thus all conspires towards the triumph of the great cause which is represented by anti-militarism. Reason and conscience will carry the day against the last prejudices of barbarism, and even, which is more difficult, against the execrable manœuvres of perverse politicians and insatiable speculators.

When we have accomplished this moral regeneration of Europe, when we have preserved the lives of some millions of human beings, we shall have our reward for the calumnies, the acts of violence, and the persecution which we have brought upon ourselves by our labours.

URBAIN GOHIER

## SCOTLAND'S POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS

SCOTLAND is still a nation. Quick travelling and modern science may have obliterated distinctions sufficiently to allow the Postmaster-General and the English tourist to describe her, in abbreviated insult, as "N. B." But her sons love her with that intense loyalty always produced by a country with romantic history and magnificent scenery. Her laws, institutions, and religion are all different from those of England ; and she must be thought of and treated as a separate entity.

Many Scottish problems are the same as English. Many necessary reforms can be carried in a general Bill with a clause adjusting the machinery to Scottish standards. Franchise extension is equally required on both sides of the Tweed. The plural voter is perhaps more of a nuisance in Scottish constituencies, where "faggot votes" have been ingeniously manufactured to defeat the real decision of the electors. Women in the North have proved their title to a vote by years of splendid work on School Boards and Parish Councils. Industrial questions can be treated simultaneously in both countries. Scottish Trade Unions need protection for their funds, and Scottish workmen deserve compensation for accidents, just as much as their English brethren. The questions for identical treatment are chiefly those connected with recent legislation arising out of the development of modern civilisation. The subjects specifically Scottish and needing distinctive enactment are those inherited from the days of the old national Parliament.

One of the most interesting Bills of the present session is the Statute Law Revision (Scotland) Bill. It repeals, in whole or in part, many of the old statutes passed by the

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

Scots Parliaments before 1707. A perusal of their titles is a cinematograph display of the nation's life for six centuries. Whether sitting at Perth, Stirling, Dunfermline, Linlithgow, or Edinburgh, Parliament was quick to legislate for a national need. In order to clear away much that is obsolete, and to compress into one short handbook all that really remains of the hundreds of ante-Union laws, this Bill is essential. But, somehow, we feel that compensation is due to Scotland, and that a Parliament that sweeps away so many unnecessary old Acts, is honourably bound to replace them with an equivalent stock of necessary new ones.

No doubt in some points England—the bloated predominant partner—is entitled to priority. Fortunately, the sins of the late Government with regard to Scotland were those of omission rather than of commission. With all its unblushing audacity, it did not dare to inflict upon “Caledonia stern and wild” any of its reactionary measures. The heather would have been on fire, the thistle would have assumed the offensive, and the national motto, *Nemo me impune lacessit*, would have become an electioneering war-cry. But, in the circumstances, we admit that the granting of justice must be deferred to the redressing of injustice.

No reason exists, however, why a beginning should not be made. There is no hesitation or uncertainty about the voice of Scotland. With a turnover of votes greater in proportion than in any other part of the kingdom, she returned at the recent General Election 58 Liberals, 2 Labourists, and 12 Unionists. The latter number would have been reduced by three, had there not been an unfortunate split in the Progressive vote. No fewer than twelve Scottish members (to say nothing of a few Lords) are in the present Ministry. The average Englishman thinks that we should be satisfied with the honourable distinction of running the Empire. But such glory has its drawbacks. To the extent to which these men are immersed in their official work, they are withdrawn from the direct service of Scotland. The duty of expressing the national demands is thus left to the 48 unofficial Liberals; and their efforts are of little avail unless initiation and energy are shown

## SCOTLAND'S POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS

by the Secretary for Scotland and the Lord Advocate. In broad Scotland there are few more popular men than John Sinclair and Thomas Shaw. In combination, they have all the necessary qualities—Radical instincts, knowledge of men and affairs, courtesy and tact, vigour and influence, power and lucidity of speech. The country expects them to co-operate in her service, and will be gravely disappointed if they do not carry many far-reaching measures.

Scotland owes more than she will ever know to him whom Stevenson describes as “the man who made Scotland again in his own image, the indefatigable, undissuadable John Knox.” All his work was done in twelve years of strife and controversy—the life of two Parliaments—against an Opposition vastly different from the ragged regiment that sits opposite Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. To re-make Scotland ! That is an ideal worth working for.

### EDUCATION

When we proceed to consider a practical programme, Education must take a foremost place. Here Scotland is unique. Since the Reformation, the parish schools have equipped a race which has made Scotland prosperous, and provided rulers and makers for the rest of the world. The Act of 1872 created parish School Boards and modernised the system. Progress in Germany and America has outstripped Scotland ; and considerable reform is required to keep abreast of other lands. The Unionist Government three times introduced Scottish Education Bills, and three times failed. These attempts were timid and temporising ; but they have served to prepare the ground for the more thorough measure to be introduced by the Liberals.

The local governing body must continue to be elected *ad hoc* ; for Scotch people place education on a different plane from drains and gas. But public opinion has declared strongly against the cumulative vote. The difficulties arise over the questions of area and finance ; and the second is determined by the settlement of the first. A strong agitation is carried on for wider areas, either the county or the district of the county. Scotchmen will not willingly

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

acquiesce in a loss of local control, nor in the transfer of educational management to lairds and factors. Old geographical limits are not applicable to modern industrial and travelling conditions ; and the wisest solution would probably be the appointment of a preliminary Boundary Commission, to recommend for each part of the country the area that would be most suitable to its particular requirements. The arrangements as to rating would follow the decision as to area. Numerous resources exist for secondary and technical education ; but they need to be co-ordinated and utilised by a strong elected authority controlling all branches of education, and providing thoroughly for the varying courses necessary in modern life. The many problems arising from physical deterioration are as clamant in Scotch cities as anywhere ; and wise heads are required to find solutions that will develop body without hurting character.

The religious question, fortunately, is not so bitterly controversial as in England. The School Boards are free to institute religious education in any form they please, with a conscience clause ; and in most cases "use and wont" have been continued by the teaching of the Bible and the Shorter Catechism. This is regarded as Presbyterian teaching by the Episcopalians and by the Roman Catholics, whose schools have greatly increased of late years. These voluntary schools receive State aid, and have agitated for rate aid. The ultimate settlement in England will, doubtless, affect their attitude ; and they may rather bear those ills they have than fly to others that they know not of.

Scottish Universities have always been popular institutions, attended by the children of the people. Mr. Carnegie's provision for the payment of fees has opened the door wider than ever ; but these ancient bodies must inhale a more modern spirit. A University Commission should be appointed, to overhaul the management and bring the curricula more into sympathy with the varying national needs.

The dominating educational influence is the Scotch Education Department, which, during the paralysis of Parliament, became more and more an English bureaucracy. Most of its administration has been progressive and

## SCOTLAND'S POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS

enlightened ; but the national spirit can be satisfied with nothing less than the transfer of this Department from London to Edinburgh, and an infusion of popular representation into its councils.

With teachers well trained in their art, and children provided with abundant opportunity to develop whatever faculties God has endowed them with, Scotland may hope again to lead the nations in culture and industry ; for her people have still the instinct for knowledge and the appreciation of wisdom.

### TEMPERANCE

The next great reform will be a Temperance measure. Scotland is more drunken than England, and more willing to be made sober. The climate, the national attachment to whisky, and the example of Robert Burns, have caused deplorable drinking customs, which die hard and seriously interfere with the efficiency of the workers. On the other hand, Temperance sentiment is very advanced, and constantly spreading. The community would be prepared for greater reforms than in the south. Fortunately, the retrograde Act of 1904 did not apply to Scotland—indeed an excellent Licensing Act was passed in the previous year, which considerably improved the administration of the licensing laws.

All over Scotland there are complete Sunday closing, week-day closing at 10 o'clock, and thorough control over clubs. An extensive reduction of the number of licences must now be brought about. No vested interest in a licence can be allowed to be created ; and the universal demand is for a measure which shall give to each community a free hand, either to renew or not to renew all the licences, without any compensation, except possibly a short time-limit. In many places, the veto could be carried, and would be workable. In other places, a very material reduction of the licences could be brought about by an increase of the licence duties in virtue of the monopoly granted. The national exchequer and public morality would both gain from this. In Scotland, as well as in



## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

England, much controversy exists as to an option of public management. The advanced Temperance party strongly objects to any form of management. No one suggests municipal management; but a considerable party, more influential than numerous, presses for management by disinterested companies as an alternative. Several experiments in this direction have been made in Scotland; and, while considerable profit has been applied to public purposes, drinking has not diminished. If this alternative were to be allowed, more stringent conditions would have to be imposed.

After all, the enforcement of Temperance legislation depends almost entirely upon public opinion. In Scotland a large body of moderate drinkers believe in Temperance legislative reform; and they willingly join in trying to establish conditions that will remove temptation from their less fortunate brethren. Scotchmen realise that the Drink Question is many-sided, and that other improvements must aid in wiping out this blot on the national name. While Parliament can help by passing legislation giving popular control of the traffic, local governing bodies and sympathetically-minded individuals will have to think out this problem from their differing points of view, before they can by zealous endeavour make Scotland as sober as she claims to be free.

### LAND

The land presents a series of very complicated problems. From it all wealth comes by the application of labour and capital. In Scotland, every aspect of the topic faces the politician. In the Lothians and the fertile straths, there is the finest land in the world, farmed to perfection by the latest methods that skill and money can devise. In other districts, the transition from grain growing to the cultivation of fruit and vegetables is fast taking place. On the bare hill-sides and the bleak shores of the Highlands and Islands, the crofters earn their precarious livelihood. Across the belt of Forth and Clyde, great mineral wealth abounds. The grip of landlordism extends over all; and

## SCOTLAND'S POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS

the constant stream of rural depopulation brings about the evil of overcrowding in the large cities. Thus a vicious circle of misery and vice is established ; and the great Condition-of-the-People question presses for solution.

The object of all legislation must be to break down the land monopoly, and encourage the people to stay on the soil. The Liberal Government is already tackling this question on various lines. For the Highlands a new Crofters' Act is needed. The experience of twenty years has shown flaws in the original statute. The provisions for security, fair rents, and compensation for improvements, should be extended to larger holdings, to lease-holders, and to certain other similarly-circumstanced counties outside the present restricted Crofter area. Facilities must also be given for the transfer of crofts, the freedom of bequest, the enlargement of holdings, the carrying on of subsidiary industries, and the borrowing of money for new houses and improvements. The Crofters' Commission and the Congested Districts Board should be reconstituted and perhaps amalgamated, and power given to a new vigorous Board to resettle cottars and other landless Highlanders on stretches of suitable country amounting to nearly two million acres available for the purpose. The creation of deer forests and grouse moors must be checked ; a few American and British millionaires are poor substitutes for thousands of sturdy industrious Highlanders.

In the Lowlands, agriculture must be encouraged by giving the tenant farmer the right to carry out necessary improvements, and to obtain compensation for capricious disturbance. The State should stimulate the acquisition of small holdings, the provision of better houses in rural districts, and the promotion of agricultural education for those engaged in that industry. The afforestation of suitable lands is a development only beginning to attract public attention ; but a thoughtful scheme, instituted by a regular Forestry Department, would open up great possibilities, both for the country and its inhabitants.

The Taxation of Land Values is under discussion this session by a Select Committee of the House of Commons ; but the people have already decided that the principle shall

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

be given effect to in legislation. The proposal is to make a separate valuation of the land as a site, apart from the buildings or other improvements upon it. This value is created by the presence and activity of the community ; but at present it is monopolised by individuals. A tax levied on this site value would recompense the community for its outlay on municipal necessities and luxuries. Much land at present lying idle and being held up for a rise would, if subjected to taxation, come into the market. This would at once provide stances for the erection of dwelling-houses, and contribute largely to the solution of the serious problem of overcrowding. It would also give an impetus to new and growing industries which are heavily handicapped by the present system. This is not specially a Scottish question ; and the principle will have to be applied also in England and Ireland, as it has been in the Colonies. But Scottish opinion is more ripe ; and perhaps the necessity is more apparent. The slums of the large cities are painfully visible ; many country towns are absolutely forbidden to grow ; and commercial undertakings that would have given employment to a country-side have been warned off by the rapacity of greedy landlords. The essential principle is scarcely contested. The controversy rages round the point whether existing contracts (such as feu duties, life-rents, mining leases, royalties, way-leaves, etc.) are to be exempted. The Committee will be well occupied in considering these difficult issues. Perhaps the outcome may be a recommendation to tax at once unbuilt-on land, and to accord a time limit to land complicated by legal obligations.

Two minor but important reforms have been too long delayed. The community must be empowered in some cheap and simple procedure to assert its claim to rights of way. And the people must be allowed, in search of health and recreation, to have access to the mountainous districts of their own country. The sporting rights of a few must not overbear the natural rights of the many.

Much of the land of Scotland was held originally by the chieftain for his clan. That vicarious tenure has gradually given place to the most absolute private property. The policy must now be reversed. The Scottish people have

## SCOTLAND'S POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS

never been revolutionary ; and they are not likely to become so now. But they are beginning to realise that the land is an original national inheritance, and to demand that its private appropriation must not longer be permitted to interfere with the general good.

### FISHING

A glance at the map of Scotland reveals the immensity of the wealth she possesses in the harvest of the sea. All round her deeply-indented coasts are scattered fishing towns and villages, inhabited by thrifty, industrious, God-fearing folk. In fishing and auxiliary industries an enormous number of people make their living ; and a huge capital is employed. Innumerable Acts of Parliament regulate this industry ; and yet several grievances remain. The administration is in the hands of the Fishery Board for Scotland. It ought to be more representative, more up-to-date, more business-like. It might be more active in scientific investigation, in acquiring information about possible markets, and in wringing from the Treasury more money for piers and harbours, and for quicker and better cruisers to protect the fishing grounds. The righteous souls of the line-fishermen are constantly vexed by the depredations of the trawlers who spoil the spawning beds and kill immature fish which, being unsaleable, are thrown overboard and wasted. The burning question in fishing politics is the proposal to exclude trawlers from the Moray Firth ; and this is at present the subject of litigation. Foreign trawlers, defying the Fishery Regulations, are not allowed to land their fish in Scottish ports ; and the request seems fair that these illegally-caught fish should be prohibited in English and Irish markets.

The rights as to salmon fishing are matters of keen controversy ; and every estuary, whether Forth, Tay, Clyde, or Solway, has its own laws and customs. The landlord claims the foreshore, and seeks to monopolise the sea as well as the land.

### CHURCH AND STATE

The question of Disestablishment in Scotland does not occupy so prominent a place as it did twenty years ago.

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

But it comes up again and again, and will continue to do so until it is settled, in the only possible way, by the complete separation of the Church from the State. The division of two Presbyterian Churches, akin in creed and practice, is not only a national scandal, but a serious hindrance to Christian and social work. In 1900, the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church united to form the United Free Church. The union was successfully challenged in the law courts by a small minority; and the Church loses heavily in material possessions. This was due to the view held on the relation of Church and State, the cause of all the divisions of the Church in Scotland during several centuries. As long as one Church remains established, a comprehensive union is impossible. In giving a modified redress to the United Free Church, the recent Tory Parliament granted power to the Established Church to alter its formula of subscription to the Confession of Faith. The old Scottish claim was for spiritual freedom. The Church should be free, free to follow conscience, free to follow Christ. But a Church cannot be free that has to ask Parliament for power to alter her creed.

Some vain dreamers suggest Disestablishment without Disendowment, and would retain the funds to endow a grand re-constructed Scottish Presbyterian Church. The injustice would only become more apparent. The endowments, half-a-million a year, are national money, and ought to be spent for national objects in which the whole nation would share. Sooner or later, this solution must come, perhaps by the voluntary surrender by the Established Church of the privileges whose continuance thwarts true religious equality.

### FINANCE

Scotland is fully conscious of the advantages she derives from union with England, and has no wish to break the partnership. But she has a suspicion that she pays rather more than her share and receives rather less. The subject is large and complicated; and only a few illustrations can be given. Scotsmen are all for economy; but, if money is going, they demand a portion. In Scotland, there are no

## SCOTLAND'S POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS

naval dockyards ; and so Scotland endorses the opinion of the First Lord of the Admiralty, that a considerable proportion of the naval construction should be done in private yards. Only by helping the Clyde and other ship-building centres can Scotland participate in this branch of national expenditure.

England often requires money for some particular purpose ; and Scotland at once becomes entitled to an equivalent. Eleven-eightieths of the English sum are flung at her head ; and there has arisen the most complex and ridiculous system of grants and doles. The Chancellor of the Exchequer will earn profound gratitude who simplifies the national and international accounts. But of course Scotland must be levelled up. British Governments are apt to treat Scotland as a man does his friend. They do anything they like with her ; she is so good-natured, she won't mind.

The Government grants to our national institutions are shockingly inadequate. The Royal Society of England receives £11,000, besides building grants, the Scottish £300, which it pays back in rent. The English Academy and College of Music get £1000, the Irish £300, the Scottish nothing. The Royal Geographical Society of England gets £500 a year ; its Scottish neighbour gets nothing, and has to pay a rent to a Government Board. A Scottish National Library is greatly needed. Numerous similar instances could be given to show how Parliament denies to Scotland the encouragement of art, science, and literature, that is lavished upon her sister countries.

## NATIONAL SENTIMENT

Scottish pride has to put up with many rebuffs. Any Sassenach appearing on a Scottish platform and belauding "English" achievements, is soon brought to earth by cries of "British." But in Parliament the restricted term usually passes unchallenged. We hear of English policy and English prowess, and wonder if it is really true that the Prime Minister, the Lord Chancellor, the Minister of War, the First Lord of the Admiralty, to say nothing of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Leader of the Opposi-

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

tion, are all Scotsmen. The King's title is a trifle; but in Scotland he must be Edward I. Even the brushes in the House of Commons are branded "ED. VII"; so that, when a Scottish Member brushes his coat, he silently acquiesces in the assumption that Bannockburn was an English victory. The kilts of the Highland Regiments are meantime safe in Mr. Haldane's keeping, unless his zeal for re-organisation will convert them into trousers.

Trifles and ridiculous sentiment! True, and yet sentiment rules the world. For a little bit of coloured cloth called a flag, men will die; to help forward a national ideal men will spend their lives.

### HOME RULE

If Scotland is to be re-made on some such lines, how is it to be done? The Liberal Party is on its trial in this Parliament; and the existing Parliamentary machine is on its trial by Scotland. The Private Legislation Procedure Act (small and halting though it was) was the first step to having Scottish affairs considered in Scotland. That has not greatly relieved the congestion of business in Parliament. At present, adequate discussion of Scottish business is absolutely impossible. The first attempt must be the establishment of a Scottish Grand Committee, to which would be referred all the Bills relating to Scotland that have passed a second reading. That Committee should be composed solely of Scottish Members; but if its acceptance by the House would be hastened by the addition of a handful of Englishmen, as in 1894, no great objection need be taken.

If that expedient fails to secure the passage of the clamant national reforms, a strong agitation is almost certain to ensue for the establishment of some form of Scottish Home Rule. The proposal might be that the Scottish M.P.s should meet for a short session in Edinburgh, or that a larger and more elaborate national assembly should be formed. Much splendid talent is dormant all over the country. Plenty of work would evolve; for each generation brings its own problems for solution. Many excellent men are debarred from a seat in Parliament by business and family

## SCOTLAND'S POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS

ties, and by the distance from London ; and, for the Imperial Parliament, Scottish constituencies are sometimes forced to take outsiders who are not always the most perfect representatives. But near home, and for a short session, the best men in Scotland would be available.

The Scottish people have been accustomed to self-government for centuries. They have had experience in local bodies, which, by the way, are greatly hampered in their every-day work by having constantly to refer to Westminster for the most trivial new powers. But specially they have been trained by management of their church affairs. The Presbyterian Church is the most perfect democracy in the world, and is planned on a system of gradated powers and responsibilities that might well be adopted by more Imperial authorities. Parliament does not know, and does not care, about Scottish affairs. It is difficult to calculate the possibility of national development that might ensue from the deliberations of a truly national assembly.

Possibly such devolution is nearer than we dream. Undoubtedly in the minds of the electors there is a strong latent desire for national self-government. Neglect or refusal from the Imperial Parliament would set the fire ablaze. Very slight provocation would be sufficient to make the Scottish lion really rampant. In the meantime, the duty of every loyal Scotchman, in and out of Parliament, is to insist, in season and out of season, upon the granting of the reforms for which Scotland has emphatically declared. If they are delayed or refused, Scotland will have to devise means to re-emancipate herself from the depressing yoke of her unprogressive sister. She will not deprive the Empire of her indispensable services. For Imperial affairs she will still be represented in the Imperial Parliament. But she will insist in managing her own affairs in her own way in her own capital.

JOHN W. GULLAND



## THE NEW HUMILITY

**A**N element of confusion is introduced into many modern arguments, notably into the argument touching the present Education Bill, by a refusal to recognise the real scope and significance of the word "dogma." People constantly put the argument in the form of saying: "Shall we teach the child dogma?" Of course we shall. A teacher who is not dogmatic is simply a teacher who is not teaching. This leaves quite untouched, of course, the question of what dogmas he shall teach, large or small, universal or sectional. And it also leaves on one side another important question. Those who say that we should not teach dogma to children really have an intelligent meaning, though they do not know what it is. What they really mean is this, that one does not commonly, in dealing with children, state the dogma in its elaborate metaphysical form. We do not, perhaps, even define the dogma. But, if we do not define the dogma, it is only because we do assume the dogma. Take, for instance, the case of ethics. It is true that we do not say to a child: "All men are morally equal and have reciprocal obligations." We do say to a child: "Why shouldn't Tommy have a piece of cake too?" In short, one does not recite the dogma of equality; we assume the dogma of equality. We do not say to a child: "There is a human sentiment of property, which is the impress of personality upon matter." We do say to a child: "You have taken Eliza's doll." That is, we do not recite the dogma of property; we assume the dogma of property. We do not say to a child: "Man has a will and is therefore responsible." We do say to a child: "Why did you do this?" We do not recite the dogma of Free Will; we assume the dogma

## THE NEW HUMILITY

of Free Will. This is the real meaning, an intelligent and respectable meaning, which exists in the mind of those who call themselves undenominationalists in education. The denominationalists say in effect: "What dogmas can we teach?" The undenominationalists say in effect: "What dogmas can we take for granted?"

Now there is something that is really wholesome and attractive in this latter point of view. There is something pleasing about the man who has certain verities sunk so deep into his mind that he hardly even knows that they are there. There is something charming about this man who is so dogmatic that he can do without dogma. This man, the sub-conscious dogmatist, is sometimes a positive pillar of sanity; and it is just in so far as non-dogmatism and undenominationalism, and modern rationalism generally, do represent this type of man, that they really have the power to make men do the two things most worth doing: to live good lives and fight. The French Revolution, for instance, was made of these men. They believed that their service to mankind lay in the things that they questioned. We look back at them now, and see that their service to mankind really lay in the things they did not question: the equality of men, for instance. They praised themselves for doubting the authority of the King. We praise them for not doubting the authority of the State. Exactly that equality of man which they regarded as a truism, they have bequeathed as an eternal challenge. In the noonday of their intellectual summer, they regarded themselves as merely expressing common sense. But, against their sunset, they appear dark and mystical, and take on all the colours of a cloud of martyrs.

It may be said, then, that there are two types of dogma in practice in the modern world. First, there is the dogma which we ignore because we do not believe it—like the Communion of Saints. Second, there is the dogma which we ignore because we do believe it—like the Brotherhood of Man. And it is perfectly true that, if a man could be sincerely convinced that the modern dislike of dogma was chiefly of the latter kind, he might be fascinated by the idea of it. He might be pleased, in some degree at least, with

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

the notion that some of the fundamental actualities had positively become automatic. He might almost reconcile himself to the fact that a man denied divinity, in the light of the astonishing fact that he did not think it worth while even to affirm humanity. Unfortunately, however, there is another and more sinister process at the back of the modern development in connection with dogma. It is no longer altogether true, as it was in the French Revolution, that men think dogmas so obvious that they need not even define them. The class of those who object to dogmas does not entirely consist of those who want their own dogmas left alone. There has arisen, in some degree of power at least, another class who are the menace of modern civilisation. They are the people who really cannot believe, either consciously or sub-consciously, in any dogmas at all. Unless we take very great care, they may become an influential minority, and even a majority, in England. It is of them that I wish to speak here.

The decay in modern England of the power of intellectual certainty is the more difficult to discuss, because the power is entirely primary and previous to definition. We look at a certain thing and say that it is blue. We look at a certain thing and say that it is certain. Indeed, we say that it is certain even in calling it a certain thing. The chief danger of the modern world is not a religious danger, or a political danger, or even a philosophical danger. It is strictly a psychological danger ; it is the danger that we may lose a certain primitive power of the mind. If the mind began to lose the power of hearing, you could not argue it into regaining it ; you could only assert, with passion, that this power of hearing was the foundation of a certain splendid thing called Music. If the mind begins to lose the power of certainty, you cannot argue against the doctrine that everything is uncertain ; you can only say that this sense of certainty is the only foundation of a certain splendid thing called Morals, nay, of the whole of human civilisation. For the primary dogmas cannot possibly be mere hypotheses ; for the simple reason that men have to suffer for them. Either there is patriotism or there is not patriotism ; for a man is shot if there is, and not shot if there

## THE NEW HUMILITY

isn't. Either there is property or there is not ; for a man starves to respect it. The whole strain of life is upon its abstractions. It is exactly for the arbitrary lines (for instance for national frontiers) that a man is called upon to be killed.

It would be very easy to represent this growth of really doubtful and unconvinced people as a despicable corruption. Every day one meets a man who will utter the frantic and blasphemous assertion that he may be wrong. Every day one comes across somebody who says that of course his view may not be the right one ; whereas, of course, his view must be the right one, or it would not be his view. Every day one may meet a charming modern who says that he does not think one opinion any better than another. It would be easy, I repeat, to let loose against this kind of thing the mere hearty loathing of a healthy man, and describe it as a corpse crawling with worms. But this would not altogether be just. Among the singular elements in the affair this must be noted : that some of those who are in this blank and homeless incertitude are among the simplest and kindest of men. I think the real explanation is different and decidedly curious. When chaos overcomes any moral or religious scheme, it is not merely the vices that are let loose. The vices are let loose and wander and do terrible damage. But the virtues are let loose even more ; and the virtues wander more wildly, and the virtues do more terrible damage. Every part of the modern world is full of the old Christian virtues gone mad ; or, for the matter of that, of the old pagan virtues gone mad. The instances are innumerable. Mr. Blatchford, to take a passing example, is simply a Christian who has become too exclusively enthusiastic for the sentimental part of Christianity. He takes the virtue of charity and allows it to eat up everything else—will, judgment, responsibility, citizenship, justice, and human dignity. Really the modern world is far too good ; it is full of wild and wasted and anarchic virtues. Thus, for instance, Tolstoy probably employs, in retaining himself from fighting, sufficient energy to upset the Tsar. And, of all these mis-directed moral qualities, none, I think, is so striking as the case of the modern mis-direction of humility.

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

Humility was originally meant as a restraint upon the arrogance and infinity of the appetite of man. The tendency of man was to ask for so much, that he could hardly enjoy even what he got; he was always outstripping his mercies with his own newly-invented needs. His very power of enjoyment destroyed half his joys. By asking for pleasure, he lost the chief pleasure; for the chief pleasure is surprise. Hence it became evident, that if a man would make his world large, he must be always making himself small. Even the haughty visions, the tall cities, and the toppling pinnacles, are the creations of humility. Giants that tread down forests like grass, are the creations of humility. Towers that vanish upwards above the loneliest star, are the creations of humility. For towers are not tall unless we look up to them; and giants are not giants unless they are larger than we. All this gigantesque imagination, which is perhaps the mightiest of the pleasures of man, is at bottom entirely humble. It is impossible without humiliation to enjoy anything—even pride.

But all this humility, which originally rested upon our appetites and our individual desires, has changed its position. Modesty has moved from the organ of ambition. Modesty has settled upon the organ of conviction. By the old rule, a man was meant to be doubtful about himself but undoubting about his doctrine. This has been entirely reversed. The part of a man that he does assert now-a-days, is exactly the part that he ought not to assert: himself. The part he doubts, is exactly the part he ought not to doubt: the divine Reason. Huxley preached a humility that is content to learn from Nature. But the new scepticism preaches a humility which is so humble, that it doubts whether it can even learn. And the practical difference between the two doctrines is vast and terrible. For the old humility made a man doubtful about his efforts; which might make him work harder. The new humility makes a man doubtful about his aims; which may make him stop working altogether.

I can simply illustrate my meaning from the history of modern politics. The whole success of the French Revolution, and of the European Liberal movement that flowed

## THE NEW HUMILITY

out of it, arose from the fact that it preached certain dogmatic certainties: certainties for which a man could be called upon to be tortured, to be destroyed. The chief of these was the doctrine of the Rights of Man, the doctrine that there were certain eternal indispensable elements in the human lot, which men could demand from their rulers or their civilisation. And this demand is exactly the demand that has been disputed and denied in our time. Matthew Arnold, a typical leader in many ways of the reaction against Liberalism, said, in one of his books: "Which of us, on looking into his own consciousness, feels he has any rights at all?" No one perhaps; for looking into one's own consciousness is a disgusting Eastern habit. And if you look into your own consciousness, you will find exactly what the Buddhists find and worship there—Nothing. You will find you have no rights, and no duties, and, incidentally, no self. But it is the essence of our Western religion to believe that the problem of life is solved in living it. Live outwards, live in the living universe, and you will soon find that you have duties. You will also find that you have rights; unless indeed you are in the singular position in which the typical English moderns find themselves. For, as I have said, the Nemesis of our present English position is this: that the one claim which we doubt is this universal claim, the claim that is compatible with personal disinterestedness and personal self-effacement. We dispute the Rights of Man. We do not dispute the rights of judges, or the rights of policemen, or the rights of landlords, or the rights of legislators. We do not dispute any of the rights that might and do make individuals proud. We only dispute the right that is so huge that it makes even the claimant of it humble. And there is no class in which doubt is more deep than in the rich class; there is no class in which doubt is more fixed, I might almost say in which doubt is more undoubting. No class has so much of the new modesty as the class that has most of the old pride. And if a man says to you: "I have no rights," you will commonly be safe in answering "No: you have privileges."

G. K. CHESTERTON

## A WEST INDIAN IRELAND

**I**T has ever been a favorite practice of our philosophers to simplify the study of social problems by resorting to some island, real or imaginary, much smaller than our own. And one can well imagine that the most fascinating of works on Economics might result from a comparative description of social life on a carefully graded selection of existing islands, rising from the smallest and simplest of populations to the larger and more complex. But in these literary excursions there is, unfortunately, a tendency to skip from the desert island where A lands with B, accompanied perhaps by a few other letters of the alphabet, in order at one step to plunge back into our own chaos of forty million people. Between these extremes such an island as Barbados occupies an interesting place.

In the minds of many readers, a difficulty will occur at the outset. In this island, it will be said, you have an unnecessary complication, because you are dealing with people of different colours. The problem of rich and poor is here entangled with the problem of black and white.

It must be said at once that the complication thus arising is far less than might be supposed. The Barbadians are rarely without a dash of English blood. There is every degree of colour among them, from the black, through one-eighth, aye, and one thirty-second black, to the pure-blooded Englishman. Moreover, there are people of white race here whose forefathers have for so many generations lived poorly and worked hard, much as the poorer coloured people live and work, that there is economically no distinction to be made between them; and, on the other hand, coloured men have risen almost to the highest positions in

## A WEST INDIAN IRELAND

the little State, so that the hard and fast line between colour and no-colour is not drawn here, as it is drawn, for instance, in the Southern States of America.

But if the question of race is not unduly obtruded, the economic problem is forced on the attention of the stranger from the moment he attempts to land his luggage. Everything is dutiable except the traveller's clothing. And the first exception to this striking statement is no less striking. All articles imported for the use of the Governor are exempt from duty. After encountering this tariff, so simple and so sweeping, so completely "reformed," one is not surprised to find on entering the town that prices rule high. Most imported food-stuffs command twice the English prices; while even sugar, except the very worst quality, costs more here in Barbados, where it is the chief crop, than in England. The price of flour is 7d. per quartern, or 25% above the current London price. In general, most necessities and luxuries are artificially dear. But this would not prevent the Barbadians from being prosperous if they had plenty of work and were highly paid for it. Well, a walk through the streets of Bridgetown reveals little prosperity. A population clothed in rags and housed in cow-sheds—such is the impression. Yet it was something of a shock to hear from a tram-car driver that his wages were but 7/- per week—seven working days. "I have six children," he said; "and I cannot get food enough for all. I am weak because I am hungry."

Who would have thought that his glittering white helmet and smart uniform covered such poverty! But I found later that there was no reason to doubt his story. The agricultural labourer is yet more poorly paid. He gets 10d. to 1s. per day; and often he gets but two or three days' work in the week.

Yet he seems happy.

From the hot and crowded streets of the town I was glad to betake myself, by means of the little railway of the little island, into the cool country. We pass through suburbs where low-built, roomy houses, girt with deep verandahs, repose in the shade of noble trees, grateful to the sea-weary eye of the wanderer. Enough of tropical



## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

beauty to create a craving for more is lent by the high-flashing feathers of the palms, and by the blazing crimson flowers flung abroad by luxuriantly-trailing plants. Under the leaden clouds of a northern clime, such a crowd and crash of colours might seem garish ; but here, beneath this sun-filled sky, colour seems a necessity, and tropic heat never produced scarlet and gold so glowing that tropic light could not subdue it to serenity.

Soon the town is left behind, and the train enters the jungle—the artificial jungle of the sugar-cane, ever pushing its green leaves above, and adding to the tangle of dying ones which form a brown mat below. On either side the line, the plantations cover every available foot of ground ; and, as there are no hedges to keep the cane within bounds, it sometimes leans over and rustles its long narrow leaves against the passing train. Where the ground is not covered with sugar cane, it is being planted with sugar cane, or being prepared for planting with sugar cane. The home-steads are factories for grinding the cane, usually by means of a windmill, and for concentrating the juice ; the drink that lightens the toil of the labourer is this same juice. The fodder of the animals is the green top or “meat” of the cane ; and the sweetmeat of the children is a length of the succulent cane itself.

Only occasionally the monotony is varied by a plantation of sweet potatoes, or of the low bushy cotton plant. But, whatever the crop, the testimony to the virtue of the soil is the same ; if the people are poor, it is not because the soil lacks fertility. The only exception to this statement is found in the rugged hills of the north-east. Here indeed nothing grows but herbage, close cropped by as many sheep as it will support.

We are now running along the eastern coast, and are nearing the end of the line, some twenty-four miles from the starting point : a great distance in this island, whose extreme dimensions are but twenty-one miles by fourteen, and whose area hardly exceeds that of the Isle of Wight.

On this area dwell 200,000 people, mostly coloured. The prevailing poverty is often attributed to over-population. “They multiply like brute beasts,” you are told. But,

## A WEST INDIAN IRELAND

when we remember that there is half an acre of land for every man, woman, and child in the island, and that many of the islanders find occupation in connection with the half dozen lines of steamships and the many sailing vessels that regularly call here, we see that this explanation cannot stand. Nor is it drink that impoverishes the people. In fact, most of them are too poor to buy tobacco—let alone rum. Nor is poverty due to idleness; for the Barbadians have the reputation of being the best workers in the West Indies, and, like the Irish labourers, they often replenish their pockets by working for a season in neighbouring islands.

The two great causes of poverty are not far to seek; they are patent and glaring. First of all there is the misuse of the soil, and the unequal distribution of its produce.

“What! misuse of the soil! Did you not tell us that every available foot of land was crowded with produce?” Yes. But, though sugar is nourishing, people cannot live on sugar and nothing but sugar; and to monopolise such an overwhelming proportion of the land for sugar, when people are suffering from want of food, is to misuse the soil.

And the soil must be misused; for it has to supply not only a living for the labourers but an income for the owner, the estate manager, and the estate attorney. It is, in a word, because these people must have an income, that the labourer must starve. The planters attribute all the distress to the low price of sugar; but, even when sugar was comparatively dear, things were not much better for the labourer. When the land-owner pocketed more than he does now by many pounds sterling, the labourer had but a few extra pence. (He had, it is true, a liberal allowance of cane juice and a little molasses, whereas not a gill of these luxuries is now given to the “hands.”)

But, since sugar has become cheap, the price of labour has reached the point of bare subsistence; and the owner himself gets no profit unless his land is of the very richest, and his crop exceptionally good. It is evident that, by breaking up the estates into small holdings, where each man would be his own manager, attorney, and owner, an enormous saving would be effected, and the land that now

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

fails to provide an income for those concerned would provide more than ample food for all. Even now, there are small tenants who are able to maintain themselves after working two days a week for the owner as rent for their holdings. But they do this, not by growing sugar for consumption thousands of miles away, but by growing food—sweet potatoes, yams, cassava, etc.—to go direct to their own stomachs. What little money they need they get by working on a neighbouring estate, by keeping a cow or a sheep, or by raising arrow-root. If they grow sugar, they have to give one fourth of the crop to the mill-owner who crushes the cane for them.

The second great cause of poverty is over-taxation, as we shall see.

\* \* \* \* \*

Alighting at last from the train, I found myself under the guidance of a brisk brown lad of fourteen, whose face was a sort of halo radiating beams of joy from the wide-mouthed cavern of his central smile. Round his head an old cloth cap formed another halo; for crown it had none. He was comparatively well-to-do; for the clothing of the really poor consists of little else but haloes, perfect or incipient, whereas this youngster was less thoroughly ventilated, being, it seems, the son of a small land-owner, and one who owned a boat to boot. He asked me for a penny.

“And what will you do with it?” “Get something to eat.” “What do you have to eat?” “Yams, (sweet) potatoes, and rice.” “And what would you eat if you could have just whatever you liked?” He did not hesitate. He needed not a moment in which to run through a mental list of luxuries. “Rice,” said he. Heavens! Was the child’s idea of luxury limited to escaping hunger?

Yet how happy he was!

But what shall we say of the case of Wesley Augustus St. Clare Clements, whose gentle black face I see as I write, appealing to me, though he had seen me but once before, to take him away with me. “For you see, sir, I am a boy that can read and write.” “Why do you want me to take you away?” “To take care of me as a gentleman.” “Will not your mother take care of you?” “My mother would

## A WEST INDIAN IRELAND

take care of me, sir, but she isn't have the means." "What does your mother earn?" "Sometimes eighteen pence a week, sometimes half a crown, and pays five pence rent." "And how many children to keep?" "Two smaller ones besides me; and I am only twelve years old." "And are you happy?" He deliberated a moment. "Well, sir, I am happy at this present."

I dared not ask whether his mother was happy.

How then do these people live? That was the question I could not help putting to one and all. It is true that you can get 5 lbs. of sweet potatoes for 1*d.*, and 5 lbs. of yams for 2*d.*, while one, and sometimes two bread-fruit, averaging 5 lbs. each, may be had for a half-penny. But this cuts both ways. For these are foods which the poor themselves produce. And it is a noteworthy fact, that in this island things are so arranged, that *nearly everything which the poor must buy is dear, while everything they have to sell is cheap.*

'Tis a noteworthy fact; but nobody notes it. The well-to-do islander, when first faced with this fact, will flatly deny it; but when challenged to mention any food-stuff which approaches in cheapness these products of the poor man's labour, he is compelled to admit every detail.

I had not to wait long for other proof of this same fact. I was lunching with Wesley Augustus, etc., in a wayside hut belonging to the village shoemaker. Having started Wesley with a biscuit—to which I felt constrained to add one for Augustus, one for St. Clare, and, in short, one for each of the rest of this innumerable boy—I asked our host, who was deftly plying his "wax-end" on my sandal, at what time he took his meals. "Well, for myself, sir, I must tell you that I haves 'um when I can get 'um!" This he said with a genial smile, as if he had discovered a truly ideal way of arranging these trifles. Naturally, in a country where most of the inhabitants go barefoot, this man had other occupations besides shoe-making. "But whatever we do," he said, "whatever we do, we can't get anything like the real value of our work." His "we" meant neither the coloured folk nor the ignorant; for the speaker was a white man and a skilled worker. It meant simply the poor.

\* \* \* \* \*

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

A stalwart dame kneeled on the ground outside her cottage, scraping cassava roots as she chatted with me. Her massive face, bearing on its chin two tiny coal-black tufts, yet charmed me by reason of its calm, its good-humour, and its good sense. "So the children have weak tea in the morning, and then nothing till one o'clock," said I. "But don't they eat something with their tea?" "If I haves bread I gives it to 'um. If I don't have it, can't give it, you see, sir!" Yes, I did see.

The talk turned on her neighbours. Now the hut of this good dame, Mrs. S., has but two rooms; no verandah; no windows; only holes closed by hinged boards. The kitchen is built apart. It has no stove, only a raised stone hearth; no oven; no chimney, only a hole in the wall; when the wind is wrong, the smoke must find its way out of the door. Mrs. S.'s neighbour, Mrs. T., is the head of a prosperous hotel.

"Well, my face is black," said Mrs. S.; but if I was taken sick to-night, I'd send to Mrs. T. for anything I needed, and if I didn' get it the only reason 'd be 'cos she didn' have it."

What a revelation of neighbourly feeling bridging the gulf between Lazarus and Dives! Such incidents prepared me for the solution of my problem—how do the people live?

\* \* \* \* \*

I sat with my guide on the mountain crest, overlooking the rugged ribs of the hills between whose bones rest here and there the deposits of rich earth whence, by dint of hard toil under blazing sun, the labourers must wring a livelihood.

"You must have a hard time of it when you are in work, John; but when you are out of work, how *do* you live?" Slowly came the man's deep voice.

"By the mercy of the Lord."

And after all, yes, he was happy.

Why then, if they are all happy, why trouble about this poverty?

Let us see. I take a country walk with a clergyman and an official. "I beg you for a cent, Sir." The small darkie has addressed himself especially to the clergyman.

"I don't know you." The reply is hurried, embarrassed,

## A WEST INDIAN IRELAND

apologetic. This over-clothed and well-fed priest does not seem happy.

Next it is the turn of the official. "Beg you for a pension, Sir." "Oh, go to Hong Kong!" The reply is fiery. "They're the most awful little beggars!" The official is no more happy than the priest. And note this: Had these good people given the required coins, they would have been no nearer happiness.

Further, there are in Barbados two thousand or twenty-five hundred people who, one hopes, find their happiness troubled by certain qualms. These are they who alone have votes out of a population of 200,000. These are they who, whether their brothers like it or not, are supposed to be their brothers' keepers, and certainly are their brothers' purses' keepers. Then there is the Governor with his £2,500 a year, and privileges amounting to £500 a year more. One could find it in one's heart to hope that he is too just or too good-natured to be quite happy in drawing this sum from a poverty-stricken people who have no voice in the matter. There is a host of legal, financial, and fiscal officials; to glance at the list of salaries, you would never guess that the people they serve are on the verge of starvation. There is a bishop with £700 a year, and many curates and rectors who receive fifteen to thirty times the wages of those to whom they "minister," and to whom they sometimes, as an act of charity, return a part of their own money. There are three hundred police receiving three times the wage of those whose property and persons they protect, but who have no property, and whose persons are in danger from no one so much as from these same police, or, once in a way, from the yet more terrible protection of a man-of-war, the shells from whose guns can search the island to its very centre. There are estate-owners who never see anything of their land, but who expect to see something from their land; there are estate-managers, who manage to make a living out of the estates; and there are estate-attorneys to manage the managers. There is the jovial man of business who, if he hears talk of educating or entertaining the "niggers," declares that he would "entertain them with a Gatling gun."

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

These gentlemen will explain to you that all would be well if the price of sugar would rise ; till lately they would have told you that the removal of the sugar bounties would put everything right. Now that the sugar bounties are removed, and prices are still unsatisfactory, they demand that Britain should levy a tax on all foreign sugar. " But how can we do that without taking the treacle and the jam from the bread of the children in England ? " " Oh, well ! a farthing a pound would not be much ! "

\* \* \* \* \*

We have then a population naturally joyous, but enduring such grinding poverty that their only refuge is the Bible. In Barbados, the Bible is a great part of life. In the public square at Bridgetown, I have heard two middle-aged ragamuffins gleefully exchanging comments on the parable of the good Samaritan. Wherever one goes, it is with difficulty that one avoids entanglement in theological discussion. But, between the Bible and animalism, the poor have nothing. Work, sleep, food, Bible—their lives are summed up in these four words. Now when the work is always physical and never mental, and when the food is cut down to the barest minimum, human nature draws near its limits. Joy becomes almost superhuman ; it can be drawn only from spiritual sources. Already cases appear in which the strain has reached breaking point. The burden is greatest on the women ; rather than deny themselves their one great joy of motherhood, they will from their own miserable earnings provide for their offspring, the father sometimes contributing nothing. No wonder that, with advancing years, their faces begin to look drawn and haggard, while the eyes are hard set, as if fixed upon some inward pain. " Do people sometimes *die* of starvation here ? " I asked. " A woman died here of starvation last night," was the reply. I visited the house. The neighbour in charge, a weather-beaten crone, would not admit that it was a case of starvation. " *Half-starved* " she insisted ; " consumption, *half-starved*." But here at last, in the person of this ancient dame, was plainly one who had failed in her " great task of happiness."

To the infinite credit of the Barbadian poor as a whole, however, they are cheerful in spite of everything—at

## A WEST INDIAN IRELAND

least this is true of the coloured people, (and it was this cheerfulness that overcame my initial prejudice against them.) But can we, for very shame, take advantage of this disposition? Can the two thousand who have taken on themselves the management of the two hundred thousand continue to devour the loaves and fishes, and to feed the multitude on texts; to seek their own happiness in this world, while referring the "brute beasts" to another.

Oh miserable two thousand! why will you torment yourselves thus? How long will you pretend to be happy, hugging your loaf and your fish, while your happiness is at the mercy of every baby who asks you for a cent? Will you wait till famine sweeps the land, as in your neighbour-island, Antigua, where now, at this writing, four-fifths of the hospital cases are due to starvation.

And yet how happy you might be. You are surrounded by two hundred thousand people of a most child-like appetite for happiness, of a most man-like appetite for work. Do you see here nothing but so many machines out of which to make an income? Or will you not rather make men? Will you seize for yourselves the supreme of human joy, the joy of creation? Heaven lies about you unrevealed. Lift up the veil from its face!

Do you ask me how? Nay, if you have the will, then you shall soon find out the way. If you have the will, you shall need little help from me, a mere sojourner within your gates. Yet, since the problem of your distress is the problem of the rich the world over, I too may bear witness how simple is the solution.

First, then, there are tempting ways of treating this problem which certainly will not solve it. To formulate a great scheme which only the Government can carry out, and to wait, or even to agitate, for the Government to carry it out—this will achieve little. To say what you would do if you were a millionaire, and meantime to do nothing—this is a method all too popular. But no great scheme, no great fortune is necessary. All that is necessary is neighbourliness: that you should be what some of you are already, good neighbours. Not that you should evolve a machine-like plan for helping thousands, but that



## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

each of you, individually, should help those whom he knows best, and whose needs appeal to him. Do not wait to be asked. Often those needs are greatest which are unconscious ; as the numbed limb is nearer death than that which suffers from cold. Do not seek the "deserving poor" ; for the worse a man is the more he needs help. Do not wait till you can only help a man not to die. Help men to live ; help the living to have life, and to have it more abundantly. Do not wait for physical distress. Your neighbours' needs are mostly mental. Spiritually, they are probably better than you—more like little children.

Now you have told me that the two hundred thousand are not fit to govern themselves. Your first work, then, is it not to make them fit ? You have told me that the coloured people multiply "like brute beasts." Have you thought what you can do that they may be less like brute beasts ? You have told me that their needs are small ; and you think it is well. Yet if one of your own children, year after year, fed his body and exercised his body, and demanded never any food, never any exercise for his mind, would you say : "It is well" ? Would you not cast about, if by any means you might tempt him to fuller use of hand and eye and brain ? If you had land, would you not give him a bit for his very own to encourage his working it, or at the least help him to acquire it on any terms possible to you. If he wished to build himself a house, would you be content to see him build a hovel ? If your child was a girl, would you be content that she should be sewing all her life, and yet never make one garment beautiful ?

I am not pleading for more book-learning. I am pleading for the awakening which comes when a child needs something, and you help him to make it. These multitudes who achieve so little as forced workers for others, would achieve so much as willing workers with others. The children, who now hang listlessly round the cottages, will play with spirit when one of the all-powerful grown-ups gives loving guidance ; and play—spontaneous and happy activity—is so much more productive than school work.

The men who now build cow-sheds would build homes if the white man interested himself in the work, and would

## A WEST INDIAN IRELAND

then surround their homes with orchards and flowers. Trifling as these changes may seem, they imply a far-reaching revolution. They would transform the face of the land, and arouse the minds of the people. The coast now bearing but the poorest herbage would bristle with thousands of cocoa nut trees, flourishing almost in the foam of the sea. Inland, the bread-fruit trees surrounding the cottages with their welcome shade, would pour forth fruit in torrents. As these trees began to yield their crops, the burden of bodily labour for daily bread and fuel would be diminished ; and a little breathing space would be gained for the development of higher powers. Brute toil would be supplemented by skilled craftsmanship. Simple arts would arise. The ultimate outcome none can foresee. Where now a thousand heads are busied with developing the resources of the island, there would soon be tens of thousands. And who shall say in what strange ways the secret of the island destiny shall unfold within this myriad of developing brains ?

Only this is certain : that in no other way can the man of the dominant class free himself from his false position—a position where he can neither give alms, nor refuse them, with any satisfaction to himself. More : where he now feels himself alone in the midst of multitudes, he shall then find the company of kindred souls. But to this end the dominant one must, slowly it may be but surely, surrender his dominance, help his neighbour to manage his own affairs, and find that in this also he spoke wisely who said : “ Be not ye called Master.”

ARNOLD EILOART

## CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION IN TRADE DISPUTES

**T**HE industrial wars and rumours of wars in France, America, Germany, and our own country, which have threatened the peace of these nations during the last few months, again direct attention to the unsatisfactory basis upon which industrial peace rests ; and the fear which is engendered by these threatened disputes between employers and their employees is not in any way allayed by an examination into what is being done in this country to make such disputes difficult.

The latest Report of the work done under the Conciliation Act (1896) shows that the :—

Total number of disputes recorded in 1904	was	354
“ “ “ “ settled under the Act	“	3

The complete figures for 1905 are not yet published ; but they promise to be almost identical with those for 1904, as, while the number of disputes for the year was 337, the number settled under the Act during the first six months was only two.

Had the present Government come into office without the burden of many years of reactionary legislation to undo, it might have been confidently expected that such figures as given above would have been pleading enough to have resulted in something further being done to harmonise the relationships between employers and workmen. As it is, it may be hoped that action will not be delayed until some great industrial upheaval forces hurried legislation.

## CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION

The reduction in the number of disputes recorded in 1904, as compared with previous years, shown later in this article, is, no doubt, a matter for congratulation; but the general satisfaction resulting from such comparison, is apt to give way to feelings of doubt as to whether the reduction in differences between the employers and employed which have led to disputes, is the result of a permanent improvement in their relationships, or only a temporary cessation of hostilities, as likely as not to terminate in an even more bitter struggle between the contending parties than this country has yet witnessed. Certain it is, that the organised forces of both sides are marshalled in a way scarcely dreamt of ten years ago. The mining industry, the engineering and shipbuilding industry, the textile (cotton) industry, the builders, every section of employers, in fact, are now acting together in such unison, that a stoppage, such as that which threatened the cotton trade recently, means the holding up of the entire business of the country in the particular trade affected.

The employees, on their part, are equally well equipped to withstand a long stoppage. Not only are they magnificently organised in each trade; but, through their Federations, machinery has been perfected, whereby almost the whole organised Labour forces of this country can be brought to the assistance of any section which may require help. By the close affiliation with the American and Continental Trade Union Federations, the organised labour of other countries can be appealed to. On all hands we see signs of the two great forces, ready armed, so far as finance and organisation can arm them, to do battle for what each believes to be necessary for the preservation of its interests.

The misery and loss resulting from industrial wars are only surpassed by the horrors of a war between nations; and, just as a resort to arms as a means of settling the differences between nations appeals to all who can be influenced by human suffering, as a crime against civilisation and an insult to intelligence, so, to every one who recognises that the happiness of the people and the welfare of the State depends upon a steady, continuous, and harmonious working of all the agencies which go to make up our industrial

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

system, must an industrial war appeal, as being as barbarous as its results are unsatisfactory.

Let me at once say that a difference of opinion between an employer and his employees, as to the amount he should pay his workers and the general conditions under which the work should be performed, is as natural as a difference of opinion between the buyer of an article and the seller of that article. It may be true, I believe it is true, that on many points an employer's interests and those of his workman are identical ; but in their relation to each other as buyer and seller of labour, their interests are certainly not identical. The employer naturally wants to obtain his labour as cheaply as possible ; the employee, on the other hand, just as naturally, desires to sell as dearly as he can. That there are employers who would scorn to grind down their workers to a sweating level we know ; just as we know that there are buyers and sellers of goods who would scorn to haggle until the last fraction is knocked off the price of an article. But, generally speaking, the employer buys his labour as cheaply as he can ; and the workman obtains as high a price as he can. With the highly sensitive condition of prices in our commercial system, with the never-ceasing changes in our methods of production, with the rapid utilisation of all that science can give to substitute mechanical for manual labour, it is as naturally a part of the order of things that differences should arise as to prices between the buyer and seller of labour, as that the price of any article of commerce should fluctuate. The extraordinary feature is that, in this connection, so little is done to avoid the great industrial risk of a stoppage because of this difference. Precautions are taken to cover and prevent every other possible disaster. Individuals, corporations, municipalities, and the State itself hasten to protect the trade of the country from any calamity calculated to hinder its progress. The risk of the strike is, however, in most trades, left to take its chance. That the risk is great is evident to everybody.

From a national point of view, probably the most frequent, as it is the most formidable, of the general arguments against a cessation of work because of the inability of employers and employed to agree upon the conditions

## CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION

under which the work will be performed, is, that such cessation invariably gives admittance to the outside competitor—home competitor if the stoppage be local, and foreign competitor if the stoppage be general and prolonged. That the argument should be frequent, is natural, when it is remembered that the lying idle of thousands of men not only affects the particular business concerned, but disorganises all kindred and dependent trades, and influences, in most unexpected fashion, industries far removed from the actual radius of the directly affected area. The first concern of the manufacturer prevented executing his orders because his works are laid idle, the first concern of the dependent manufacturer handicapped because his raw material is delayed in delivery, the first concern of the shopkeeper or business man of the district, is that, with the disorganisation of trade, their competitors' opportunity has come, and that such competitors, once they obtain a footing, will be extremely difficult to dislodge, even after the immediate trouble has been adjusted. On the workman's side, the consequences are no less formidable. Any loss of trade to the district means, even if the ultimate adjustment is a mutual one, a corresponding displacement of labour; if, however, the settlement is one-sided, the consequences to Labour are even more serious, resulting in a large displacement, affecting for the most part the older and least efficient men, and those most unfitted to meet the difficulties of want of employment. To all concerned, therefore—to the individual, whether employer or workman, to the residents of the district (shopkeeper, business or professional man), to the country as a whole—a cessation of work because of inability to come to terms is, according to its magnitude and duration, a disaster.

It is difficult, in face of these consequences resulting from strikes and lock-outs, to imagine how an intelligent people, either in their individual or collective capacity, can calmly witness the horrors of an industrial war and, with the settlement, seemingly forget all about it until the next difference occurs. Business men, alive to every other danger which threaten their success, drift along, apparently unconcerned at this constant menace which overhangs them.

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

Workmen, careful of every other danger which threatens to part them from their employment, make little or no effort to provide such machinery as will enable them to settle differences which may lead to immense suffering and loss.

The purpose of the Conciliation (1896) Act was to prevent—by conciliation and arbitration—trade disputes ; but it cannot be claimed by its most enthusiastic supporter that the Act has been a conspicuous success. The following Table gives the number of trade disputes each year since the Act came into operation, together with the number settled by means of the Act :—

<i>Year.</i>	<i>No. of disputes each year.</i>	<i>Settled by Conciliation and Arbitration under the Act.</i>
1897	864	8
1898	711	7
1899	719	2
1900	648	6
1901	642	12
1902	642	7
1903	387	6
1904	354	3
1905	337	2 ( <i>six months</i> )
	5304	53

This shows that only a little over one per cent. of the disputes which have occurred since the passing of the Act have been settled as a result of its having been placed upon the Statute Book. Even taking the number dealt with in any way whatever under the Act, the figures do not strike one as showing that the Department is congested. A total of 181 cases (to Dec. 1904) have been dealt with under the Act since it became law. In 44 of these, the Board of Trade declined to take action, or no settlement directly resulted from its intervention. It is impossible to estimate the number of cases which have arisen since the passing of the Act ; but, when it is remembered that the 5304 disputes which actually took place possibly only represent one fourth of the actual differences which arose and required adjust-

## CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION

ment, the meagreness of the total of 181 dealt with by the Board of Trade will be admitted.

On the other hand, the Conciliation and Arbitration Boards which have been established by the employers and the workmen themselves<sup>1</sup> have done splendid work, as the following Table shows :—

	<i>Number of Boards known to have settled Cases.</i>	<i>Number of Cases con- sidered by Boards.</i>	<i>Number of Cases settled by Boards.</i>
1896	50	1456	818
1897	48	1454	798
1898	49	1320	775
1899	53	1232	675
1900	64	1190	578
1901	54	1405	685
1902	57	1462	678
1903	62	1633	788
1904	54	1418	615
		12,570	6,410

Surely it doesn't require very close comparison between the work done by the Board of Trade in settling disputes, and the work done by the permanent Boards established by the employers and the men themselves, to see in what direction further efforts towards the peaceful settlement of trade disputes should be directed.

How far it is possible to make use of and profit by the experience of those of our Colonies which have adopted compulsory arbitration, is a debatable point. It must, in the first place, be admitted that the conditions here, as compared with New Zealand, New South Wales, Victoria, Western or South Australia, are vastly different. Here we have an industrial population numbering many times more than that of all these colonies put together.<sup>2</sup> Here we have a factory and workshop system built up as the result of over a century of experience. In our colonies, the factory

<sup>1</sup> The Board of Trade has always encouraged and helped the formation of these Boards.

<sup>2</sup> In Western Australia the total number of workers in 1903 was estimated to be 62,528. In New South Wales, 302,396.



## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

system, such as it even now is, only extends back some twenty-five years. Here we have experienced hundreds of large disputes, with very little appreciable change in the relationship between the employer and employed. In Australia and New Zealand, the result of the first dispute of any dimensions<sup>1</sup> was a revolution in public opinion towards a means of preventing the possibility of such a disaster in the future. Thus we have, in the four colonies named, legislation enacted which *compels* employers and employed to submit their differences to arbitration.

It must be admitted, no matter what objection may be taken to compulsory arbitration, that the manufacturing country which first secures immunity from trade paralysis by preventing trade disputes will have obtained, in addition to numberless other benefits, an immense advantage over its competitors in the world's markets. The United States, Germany, Canada, France, Belgium, and every other country which competes with Great Britain for the world's trade, are periodically "held up" as it were, their trade disorganised, and, in some instances, the condition of things is reduced to little short of civil war, because of differences between employers and employed. If one of these countries discovers some method whereby trade disputes can be avoided, that country certainly will obtain an advantage over its competitors almost impossible to over-estimate.

Up to the present time, disputes in manufacturing countries have been fairly evenly distributed. It is from Germany we have accounts of strikes to-day, from America to-morrow; and, as time goes on, each in turn has its trouble, the result being, that what trade is lost to-day because of a stoppage in one country is gained to-morrow because of a stoppage in some other country. But, let one of the countries solve the problem as New Zealand has done; and then, if it is true that strikes drive trade away, as no doubt they do, then the country that never has a dispute will assuredly always be gaining at the expense of those countries where periodical stoppages take place.

While the Arbitration Acts of Australasia may be said to be largely the result of the political activity of the Labour

<sup>1</sup> The maritime strike, 1899.

## CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION

men and their sympathisers, it must not be forgotten that many employers and public men have given the new order of things their unbounded support; and it is significant that, in New Zealand itself, the most powerful class in politics are not the wage-earners but the farmers. The New Zealand Act was, in fact, largely due to the advocacy of the Hon. W. Pember Reeves, the present Agent-General for that Colony in this country. The Hon. R. W. Best, a member of the Victorian Ministry, who, with Mr. Trenwith, M.P., went on a special mission to New Zealand in 1900, and Mr. Outtrim, Chairman of the Victorian Factories Commission of 1902, bear testimony to the excellent work done under the measure. Even the Hon. J. McGregor, a member of the Legislative Council in New Zealand, who has led the opposition in the Colony, writing in the *National Review*, admitted that the Act had done some good.

The most important opinion yet given, however, is that of Judge Backhouse, who was appointed by New South Wales, presumably because the legislature desired a judicial opinion, to investigate into the working of the Act in New Zealand. He reported so favourably, that the Hon. R. B. Wise, the Attorney-General of New South Wales, in an able speech which he delivered in moving the second reading of the Bill in the New South Wales Legislature, had little difficulty in obtaining a majority. Mr. Wise so far supported the necessity for compulsory arbitration in the prevention of disputes, as to leave the Conciliation Boards entirely on one side.

The action of New South Wales in disregarding Conciliation Boards altogether was, no doubt, largely a result of the experience of New Zealand, where, notwithstanding the fact that originally great stress was laid upon the work which would be performed by the Boards of Conciliation, an amending Act passed in 1901 gave either party in an industrial dispute power to pass by the Conciliation Boards and go direct to arbitration. This permission is invariably acted upon, and has had the effect of practically abolishing the Conciliation Boards. The example of New Zealand and New South Wales in

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

abolishing the Conciliation Boards seems likely to be followed by Western Australia, as there appears a paragraph in a Report recently published,<sup>1</sup> calling attention to the number of cases dealt with by the Court of Arbitration, as against those dealt with by the three Boards of Conciliation. The figures are :—

	1901	1902	1903	1904	Total
Court of Arbitration .		34	75	49	158
3 Boards of Conciliation	4	11	11	—	26
	<hr/> 4	<hr/> 45	<hr/> 86	<hr/> 49	<hr/> 184

The Report goes on to say, that the Conciliation Boards are, to a large extent, inoperative, the chief reason given being the want of finality in their recommendations, it being found that nearly all the cases heard by the Boards have been re-heard by the Court, on the reference in each case of the party dissatisfied with the Board's determination. The Report recommends the abolition of the Conciliation Boards altogether.

Notwithstanding that Boards of Conciliation seem to be unable to stand when there is a Court of Arbitration to which either of the parties can appeal if the decision is not favourable, the best informed of those conversant with the working of the Acts regard their abolition as regrettable. Thus Mr. Edward Tregear, Secretary of the Department of Labour, New Zealand, in his Report issued in 1902, says :—

“ So carefully and well have Conciliation Boards in many cases worked in this Colony, so many are the occasions in which they have wiped out dozens of disputed points (leaving a few only for the Arbitration Courts), sifted evidence, and given recommendations only requiring adoption by the Higher Court, that very many, if not the majority of people who have really studied the subject, would view the abolition of the Boards with regret.”

<sup>1</sup> Annual Report by Edgar T. Owen, Registrar of Friendly Societies, Western Australia.

## CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION

The general impression as to the success of the Acts may be gathered from the fact that the action of New Zealand in 1894, in passing a compulsory Arbitration Act, has had such good results, that not only have New South Wales and Western Australia copied it enthusiastically, but the Commonwealth itself has quickly followed by passing a Bill which received assent as recently as December 1904. The measure is described as : "An Act relating to Conciliation and Arbitration for the prevention and settlement of Industrial Disputes extending beyond the limits of any one State." Still, the outstanding feature of the working of the Acts seems to be the rapid passing away of the Boards of Conciliation, and the consequent greater reliance placed upon compulsory Arbitration.

In this country, compulsion of any description is naturally abhorrent, and instinctively creates opposition. That the people are compelled to do a good many things in the interests of the common life is, of course, true ; and the more collective citizenship duties are recognised, the more common regulations there probably will be. But it may be taken that any compulsion which is likely to call upon any considerable section of the community to perform some obligation to which they strongly object, will break down. Undoubtedly it is this feeling which operates in the minds of those who have been called upon to give a decision respecting the application of compulsory arbitration to this country. "We feel," said one of the speakers at the last Trade Union Congress, "that there are some questions upon which we cannot arbitrate. We have made up our minds not to work under a certain living wage ; and upon that there can be no arbitration, so far as we are concerned."

In America, the feeling is even more pronounced. The people there are much further removed from the Government than in this country or the Colonies ; and to give the power to compel men to work, under conditions which might or might not be honestly arbitrated upon, into the hands of men in whom the people as a whole have not great confidence, would mean greater strife than even now exists in that country. The difference in the attitude adopted in such countries as America, as compared with the

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

attitude taken in our Colonies, is admirably explained by the Hon. W. Pember Reeves, when he says : "The State in New Zealand is the people."<sup>1</sup>

The feeling here, singularly enough, seems to be just the opposite to what it is in those Colonies which have adopted Conciliation and Arbitration Acts. In these Colonies, as has been shown, the tendency is to abolish Conciliation Boards ; here, as will be seen by comparing the resolution discussed six years ago at the Plymouth Trade Union Congress (1899) with the resolution discussed at Hanley last year, the tendency is towards conciliation :—

PLYMOUTH CONGRESS, 1899.

### *Resolution.*

"That, in view of the increasing number of lock-outs and refusal by employers to arbitrate, we urge the Government to pass a *compulsory* Arbitration Act, and the appointment of judge and Court, with authority to enforce awards by fines and imprisonment of persons refusing to accept award of such Court. And that judges have full power, as under company laws, to call for the production of all records dealing with wages and working expenses of any firm or bodies of men or employers interested in a dispute."

HANLEY CONGRESS, 1905.

### *Resolution.*

"This Congress instructs the Parliamentary Committee to draft a Bill, for immediate presentation to Parliament, which shall embody the following conditions :—(1) A basis of contract law protecting inviolate all funds of unions ; (2) the formation of industrial Boards of Conciliation and Arbitration in all large industrial centres. Such committees to undertake, on request of parties to a dispute, investigation as to data and facts ; to determine settlements and awards ; (3) the Courts to be constituted by an equal number of workmen and employers' representatives, the former to be selected under auspices of Parliamentary Committee

<sup>1</sup> *A Country Without Strikes.* By H. D. Lloyd. (Preface.)

## CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION

from affiliated membership of the Congress. Each umpire and chairman to be appointed by the Labour Department of the State where not mutually agreed ; (4) there shall be two sections defining—(a) *voluntary conciliation and arbitration* ; (b) compulsory conciliation and arbitration, option to be left to Unions to register under either section."

The difference between those two resolutions shows that the frank declaration for compulsion in regulating trade disputes has not been accepted by the workers ; as, while the 1899 resolution was defeated by a large majority, the more tactful and optional resolution of 1905 was only defeated by a small majority, delegates representing 673,000 men voting for it, and delegates representing 765,000 voting against. Even the support given to the resolution at Hanley does not fully express the feeling of the Congress, as undoubtedly the resolution was prejudiced by the discussions which had taken place in previous years on the purely compulsory proposal. This was evident ; because just the trades which have been most successful in establishing voluntary Conciliation Boards were most vehement in their opposition to the resolution.

It is fairly safe to predict that, with a recognition of the fact that the workers are not being called upon to submit to compulsory arbitration upon questions which possibly they have come to look upon as settled, they will in a year or two endorse some such proposal as that put forward at Hanley. As with other questions, however, so with this, it does not necessarily follow that the result of unanimity of Labour opinion will bring immediate remedy. The employers, the politicians, and the general public have all to be convinced, before much progress can be made towards an amendment of existing laws and machinery.

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

At present, employers would seem to be antagonistic to anything of a compulsory character being brought forward; and, if a suggestion may be made to them, the best way to prevent compulsory arbitration is to foster the establishment of voluntary Conciliation Boards. Wherever they have been established, both employers, such as the late Sir David Dale, and employed, such as those engaged in the iron and steel trade, testify to their excellence. It may be taken for granted that the public will not much longer tolerate the unscientific and semi-barbarous methods of the strike and lock-out as a means of settling industrial differences; and the choice seems to lie between voluntary conciliation and some such form of compulsory arbitration as exists in our Colonies.

The temperament of the people and the success of existing Boards both point to the former as the method most likely to prove successful in this country.

The Board of Trade, while it has not proved a conspicuous success in its operations under the Conciliation Act (1896), has undoubtedly done immense service in bringing the parties to disputes together, and encouraging them to settle their own differences; and it is in this direction that success lies. Neither party to a dispute likes outside intervention which claims to be able to settle; but both sides are invariably glad to welcome the intervention of a third party when that party's only object is to bring them together with a view to a "discussion of their differences." It is as Lord Justice Vaughan Williams said a short time ago at Cardiff:—"Nine out of every ten strikes could be settled on just lines, if only the employers and the men took the trouble to ascertain the real cause of the grievances." The fact that, in 1904, Conciliation Boards settled 615 differences, proves this. Recent negotiations at Manchester in the cotton trade brought expressions of thanks from all quarters to the Lord Mayor, who was instrumental in bringing the two parties together.

The great danger of such action as was taken at Manchester is, however, that, while in that case the Lord Mayor was evidently just the person tactfully to arrange a meeting, in many instances, left to any chance individual as

## CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION

it at present is, it results in more harm than good being done, by some well-meaning but uninformed person intervening just at the wrong moment.

It is, however, along present lines that success lies. If the trades which have Conciliation Boards have found them beneficial, it may be taken that any proposal calculated to weaken their present conciliation machinery would meet with strenuous opposition ; but any proposal which aims at developing and extending the principle which they have found so beneficial, would meet with their hearty support. The Board of Trade should be given increased authority, which would enable it actively to foster the establishment of Conciliation Boards in every trade.

The present gentle persuasion exercised by the Department, in its endeavours to establish these Boards, is not enough. Consultations should be held with national representatives of employers and Trade Unions who are favourable to Conciliation Boards. A plan of action embracing every trade and district should be laid down ; and no cessation of activity permitted, until a dispute without previous efforts at conciliation would be impossible. Any employers or Trade Unions refusing to take part in the work of the Board in their trade might fairly be held to be responsible for any stoppage which might occur. The reasons for their refusal should be made public by the Department ; and, no doubt, the wholesome effect of this well-directed public opinion would speedily result in making the Boards representative of all directly interested. From the successful working of the Boards already in existence, it is safe to predict that any initial action by the Board of Trade for their further extension would be welcomed by many employers and Trade Unions ; and, in any case, the welfare of the public and the State demands that every effort should be made to ensure industrial peace.

I. H. MITCHELL

*Secretary, Federation of Trade Unions*



## HENRY SIDGWICK <sup>1</sup>

“**I** THINK your book is one of a rare class—the class of biographies which are good in the sense in which good novels are good ; I mean biographies which do not merely give the reader the feeling that the writer has performed a task incumbent on him in a competent manner, but which give him the peculiar pleasure and instruction that can only be given by the full unfolding of the intellectual and moral quality of a rare mind that has lived, developed, and produced important social effects in interesting circumstances.”

It was thus that Henry Sidgwick wrote to Mr. Wilfrid Ward concerning *W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival* ; and it seems to me that judicious readers will find themselves silently addressing some very similar words to the authors of the recently-published memoir of Henry Sidgwick. He dated the ‘consulship of Plancus’ in A.D. 1860–65 ; and in 1895 he retrospectively spoke of ‘the *forward* movement of the thought’ of those hopeful years when ‘Hebrew old clothes’ were being discarded. Then it was that he ‘took service with Reason.’ That Forward Movement, with Reason as recruiting sergeant, may not yet have found its historian ; but, if less picturesque upon the surface, surely it was not less worthy of remembrance than the Catholic Revival, which without offence—none is intended—might, I suppose, be called a Backward Movement. Altogether ‘the circumstances’ of Sidgwick’s life, though not exciting, may well be deemed adequately ‘interesting,’ by those who look

<sup>1</sup> *Henry Sidgwick: A Memoir.* By A. S. and E. M. S. London : Macmillan & Co., 1906.

beneath the surface of current history ; and there can be no doubt that we are here enabled to see ' the full unfolding of the intellectual and moral quality of a rare mind '—a very rare mind—and, be it added, of a singularly lofty and beautiful character.

Still loftier than his friends, or some of his friends, suspected ? I think so ; and, just about this one matter, I will venture, at the editor's instance, to write a few lines without making the pretence that I am reviewing a book.

It is not mine to speak from the vantage ground of intimacy. Sidgwick, throughout his life, had deeply-attached and intimate friends, to whom, as sufficiently appears in these pages, he unbosomed himself unreservedly. Nor indeed have I any right to speak, except in the first person singular, though I have good reason to suppose that what I saw was what was seen by many other of his acquaintance who stood outside that innermost circle. And the first trait upon which I will lay a little stress is one that may not be—I do not feel sure about it—sufficiently evident to all readers of this memoir. May not some of them gather from it the notion that Sidgwick was so much engaged in self-scrutiny, self-criticism, perhaps even self-torment, that he can have had little time or energy for other pursuits, or, at any rate, that the native hue of resolution must have been sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought ? I do not think that any reasonably careful reader ought to draw this inference, or that the writers of the memoir are in any degree to blame if so grave a mistake be committed. Apart from what they tell us, there is, on the face of Sidgwick's own letters, ample evidence of the extremely keen interest that he took in all manner of human affairs. But what I may call the introspective passages, excerpted from letters and journals, are so deeply, and sometimes, it may be, so painfully interesting, that possibly they may throw the residue of the story into the background. I can even imagine the habitual skipper skipping in search of more ' revelations,' though assuredly he will be a loser if he skips. Therefore it may not be out of place to say, that a man who seemed less self-conscious or less self-centred than Sidgwick was not to be met ; nor one who, to all

appearance, so steadily and easily kept himself at an objective point of view. There are, for example, in this memoir, paragraphs written by distinguished colleagues of his, which, if they attract their proper share of attention, will give the right idea of Sidgwick's ceaseless activity in the affairs of the University of Cambridge; but it should, I think, be added with some emphasis that whatever he did was done with ungrudging cheerfulness, and most of it with apparent enjoyment. One wondered whether there was any practical question that he would not study with zest; one wondered whether he could be bored, whether he could be irritated. If ever he was weary of well-doing, he kept his weariness very much to himself. Nobody—I need hardly say this—could have been less like the philosopher of traditional caricature, who carries his head in the clouds and does not see where he is going. The next step was, for the time being, the all-important step, and well worthy of the best thought that could be given to it. But further, I should have said that from any of those failings which betoken the habitual 'introspector' (is there such a word?) Sidgwick's behaviour was markedly free. His range of sympathy was astonishingly wide. He seemed to delight in divining what other people were thinking, or were about to think, in order that he might bring his mind near to theirs, learn from them what could be learnt, and then, if argument was desirable, argue at close quarters.

What was thus visible in the course of business was still more visible in the course of free conversation. Sidgwick was a wonderful talker; a better I have never heard. But Mr. Bryce and Mr. Benson and Leslie Stephen have said some part of what might be said of this matter; and I have nothing to add, save one small remark suggested by what I have just been writing. Sidgwick's talk never became, and never tended to become, a monologue. He seemed at least as desirous to hear as to be heard, and gave you the impression that he would rather be led than lead. Even more than the wit and the wisdom, the grace and the humour, it was the wide range of sympathy that excited admiration when the talk was over. To see with your eyes, to find interest in your interests, seemed to be one of

his main objects, while he was amusing and instructing and delighting you. As a compliment that was pleasant ; but I cannot think that it was a display of mere urbanity. Sidgwick genuinely wished to know what all sorts of people thought and felt about all sorts of things. His irony never hurt, it was so kindly ; and, of all known forms of wickedness, 'Sidgwickedness' was the least wicked. Good as are the letters in this book, I cannot honestly say that they are as good, or nearly as good, as their writer's talk. A letter, being a monologue, cannot represent just what seemed most to distinguish him from some other brilliant talkers. I imagine that superlatively good letters—I mean letters which will be called superlatively good when they are printed and published and read by strangers—are hardly to be written unless among their ingredients is a pinch—not more, but still a pinch—of egotism ; and this is a spice which we cannot detect in Sidgwick's epistles, at any rate in those that were written after the consulship of Plancus. He was a most unegotistical talker, and a most unegotistical man. But as to egoism in a philosophic sense, it has sometimes struck an old pupil of his that 'the selfish system of morality' might be plausibly rehabilitated by any one who paid more regard to the practice than to the preaching of a certain professor of moral philosophy. That conflict between duty and enlightened self-interest, between 'altruistic hedonism' and 'egoistic hedonism'—did Sidgwick really know, could Sidgwick really know, anything about it from personal experience ? It seemed hardly credible—so cheerfully, naturally, spontaneously, was every duty done. Much pains would be taken to ascertain the path of duty. An observer might readily guess that this philosopher's 'method of ethics' involved a calculation of consequences near and remote. Sidgwick's mind was large ; but it was also full, and, consequently, it required much 'making up.' Any one, it may be parenthetically observed, can quickly pack a portmanteau if he has only a sleeping suit to put in it. But, when once the path of duty was ascertained, the step was at once taken ; and it seemed to be taken not only gallantly but gaily. Sidgwick appeared to be so happily

constituted that he found his greatest pleasure in active, though thoughtful, beneficence. That was how it struck an outsider. We could not say the same of all very good and dutiful persons.

And now we may know more, we 'friends at a distance' who honoured and admired him. I do not think that we are or ought to be surprised or saddened; but I think that we are and ought to be profoundly grateful. Notwithstanding all his powers, attainments, virtues, Sidgwick never seemed to us in the least inhuman, even when some of us sat on benches and he stood on the further side of the chasm that lies somewhere between twenty and thirty-two. But he seems yet more human now, when we can see something of effort and conflict and suffering beneath the serene surface. I will pass by what he called his years of 'storm and stress.' As we read the letters of those years the thought may come to us, and if it comes it will be painful, that possibly he may miss his vocation. Of his going wrong, in any serious sense of that phrase, there cannot be even a momentary fear. But there does seem to be a chance that this man, to whom so many brilliant careers are open, may not choose the noblest but most arduous of them all; and there does at times seem to be a chance that, while he is choosing, he may fall a prey to the insidious disease that is called 'scholar's paralysis.' To say this, however, is only to say that if Sidgwick had not been Sidgwick he would have been somebody else. And when, because of religious scruples, he thinks of resigning his fellowship, and reveals his inmost thoughts to his friends, though his distress must pain us, we do not feel inclined to avert our eyes, for there is nothing sickly or morbid or unlovely to be seen: only scrupulous veracity and unflinching courage. It is an inspiring sight, though perhaps we are in some sort glad when it is over, and the 'sun is shining and all shapes of life evolving overhead.' (p. 200).

Passing to a later time, we see much that is attractive; but I will only mention what will move some of us most of all. We may have known something of it, and guessed a little more; it is here to be seen by all who can read this book with sympathetic eyes: namely, Sidgwick's singular

truthfulness. Of course this does not mean merely that he did not tell lies, or profess doctrines that he did not believe ; it means that, beyond most other men, and, I fancy, beyond most other philosophers, he was honest with himself. A little self-deceit or self-mystification over the great ultimate problems of philosophy and religion, is it not very common, very easy, and even very excusable ? Down here, among mundane matters, beliefs which are the offspring of desire fare badly. They come into collision with hard facts, and they perish soon. But up in those aerial regions where most of us soon feel dizzy, I fear that it is otherwise. A small change in a delicate scheme of values, a little shifting of scarcely ponderable weights, or of measures that can never be absolutely rigid, may satisfy the cravings of the heart without offending the head, unless that head be trained to severe sincerity. Now a very slight degree of moral obliquity, hardly enough to be seriously condemned, might, so it seems to me, have made Sidgwick the most plausible and popular of modern sophists, or (it is the same thing) of modern prophets. All other requisites were there : ingenuity, subtlety, resource, circumspection, erudition, besides a reserve of rhetorical and literary power upon which he seldom drew. Even by way of exercise for our imagination, we could not suppose him capable of maintaining what he did not believe ; but, had it not been for his perfect probity, and that vigilant self-criticism which, so I gather from the public papers, has come as a surprise to some of those who knew and revered him, he might, as others often do, have forgotten the exact point where proof ended, and only hope remained. And then what a sophist or what a prophet he might have been, and what a 'school' he might have founded !

The temptation was not wanting. In choosing to be a philosopher, he had chosen a thorny path. I do not know that a philosopher's career must needs be exceptionally arduous. Whether it requires better brains and harder labour to write a good book on philosophy than to write a good book on physics, I cannot say. But if you take philosophy very seriously, it may distress you in a manner in which you will never be distressed by chemistry or

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

philology or jurisprudence. The riddle of the universe may oppress and persecute you as no minor puzzles will, especially if you are truly solicitous about the welfare of your fellows, and the time is one when old theories and creeds are called in question on every hand. Sidgwick took philosophy very seriously : as seriously, I should suppose, as it was ever taken ; and it is not precisely of the 'consolations of philosophy' that this book will make us think, but rather of the burden of thought. There is a good deal of *Weltschmerz* (p. 277) in it. Sidgwick felt

" The heavy and the weary weight  
Of all this unintelligible world."

Or rather, we ought to say, of this morally irrational world. Unless certain theses could be established, the universe was for him morally chaotic, and therefore distressful. Perhaps we others, we of the grosser clay, who know more of toothache than of *Weltschmerz*, cannot fully make his feelings ours. Moreover, I can see no room for pity here. We read of a very happy life. Fate aimed at Sidgwick—to her credit be it said—no one of her crushing blows. But what, so I think, we may all admire, is the watchful honesty which will not suffer any hope, however ardent, or any desire, however noble, to give itself the airs of proof. 'Well,' wrote Sidgwick in 1891, 'I myself have taken service with Reason, and I have no intention of deserting. At the same time I do not think that loyalty to my standard requires me to feign a satisfaction in the service which I do not really feel.' These words give us the core of the matter, which is stated more fully and with more emotion elsewhere. Is it painful reading? Not wholly painful, I think, especially if we remember, as at this point we must, that the *Weltschmerz* and the long continued conflict between head and heart did not cripple Sidgwick, or make of him a moral valetudinarian, but rather seem to have braced him for the service, the active, cheerful, spontaneous service, of his fellow men. In an able, appreciative, and affectionate review of this book, I saw it suggested that some 'paradox' has been set before us in this quarter.

## HENRY SIDGWICK

It may be so. I have no skill in psychology, theoretic or applied ; and certainly I could not sum up the character of Henry Sidgwick in any form of words. Still it seems to me that, somehow or another, all that we now learn blends with all that we remember. Rare the total result may be ; but it is harmonious. Complex the character may be ; and yet, in another sense, it is beautifully simple.

The prediction of the fate of *Memoirs* is, I should imagine, a peculiarly hazardous kind of prophecy ; and perhaps it should never be undertaken by those who knew, even at a distance, the men whose lives are in question. Yet may we hope with some confidence that, even when many years have gone by, this book will still have for a few discerning readers some part of the charm that it has for many of us now. The whole of that charm they can never know ; but they may at least see that one of the acutest, profoundest and most influential thinkers of our time was a true and good and noble man ; and in some degree they may feel that he is even for them an encouraging master, a wise counsellor, and a delightful companion.

F. W. MAITLAND



## ROSTOCK AND WISMAR

THE heart does not beat quicker at the names of Rostock and Wismar, nor does the finger find them instinctively on the map. They slumber in one of Europe's backwaters—too far east, or north, or something—where even Baedeker gets drowsy, and sows imaginary tram lines along the deserted streets. The lover of the Baltic style of architecture will visit them; and so will he who studies the rise and fall of the Hanseatic League. But the really nice person will only take them on the way to Stralsund; and why should he go there? The country is flat, the sea shallow, the fourth-class railway carriages far from comfortable; and the Baltic style itself has been compared in fretful moments to a Gruyère cheese.

Rostock, with a reputation for bustle, lies eight miles from the mouth of the Warnow. It is a test town. If the tourist is happy here, and can love its huge pallid churches, he will be happy elsewhere. The centre of interest is the Neumarkt, every house in which has a gable. Here is the inn of *The Sun* (admirable), the inn of *The Moon* (almost too quaint), the inn of *Russia* (fashionable but dear: three marks for a bed), the decadent art-shop full of Toteninsels, the manly art-shop, full of prancing Majesties, and, loitering in front of these, undergraduates, for Rostock is a University town. The gable gains by repetition: two go for nothing, ten for very little. But the Neumarkt must contain dozens; and therefore, grey as it is, prosaic as are its details, it is picturesque.

Either art-shop sells picture post-cards of the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, whose palace is hard by. His chest is broad, but not as broad as Majesty's;

## ROSTOCK AND WISMAR

his medals and his moustache will never come as thick, nor his war horse prance so perpendicularly. All this is as it should be; but it makes the young fellow look headachy and sad. He would like to be first in his own town. He would like to have a nicer palace. He would rather it did not carry you back to the Westbourne Grove. He is grieved when you hurry away from it to the margarine factory and exclaim: "Now here is something worth seeing at last." For the pigs of Rostock become margarine in a fair patrician mansion, pleasingly proportioned, delicately carved, and adorned with *Vigila et Ora*, and other wise remarks. Do not censure them for this. They had to go somewhere; and in Rostock you find an old house quicker than a new one. Moreover, margarine is a Hanseatic article—or would be if the Hansa League still existed. Those Baltic merchants loved pigs, and herrings, and beer, and all that stoutens man's body, or makes his heart glad in a northern way. They ate, and grew fat, and were not ashamed. They knocked the King of Denmark over when he tried to catch their herrings. The Holy Roman Emperor strolled northward; and they knocked him over too. And at last, outside their pew in the church of St. Nicolas at Stralsund, instead of carving *Vigila et Ora*, they carved this:

"He who's no merchant, stop without,  
Or else I'll hit him on the snout."

Ponder these things, and consider which is incongruous: the Grand Duke or the margarine.

Sentiment is vindicated; but the fact remains that there is very little to see in Rostock—much that is old, but little that is beautiful. When the merchants made a great conscientious effort (as at Lübeck, where they were determined to go one better than the bishop, and built the Marien Kirche in consequence)—they succeeded. But they never builded better than they knew. They never stray into immortality, like the Italians. They ate their dinners and won their battles. But they were seldom anxious over beauty, and never stumbled on it unawares.

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

Perhaps there was more anxiety at Wismar. There is certainly more charm. It has not the pleasant situation of Rostock, nor has it the same profusion of old houses. But the churches are splendid ; and even the absence of water is a gain, for it leads to water-works. Water-works are common enough. But they were not so common in the sixteenth century ; and that is the date of the Wismar building. It is quite small, and, standing as it does in the corner of the market place, might easily be ignored, or mistaken for a newspaper kiosk. The core of it consists of a mysterious mass, ribbed and twisted—presumably the cistern, but such a cistern as no plumber saw in his wildest dreams. This is encircled by an arcade and gratings, with Renaissance sculpture at the angles, and a long Latin poem for a frieze. How the cistern worked, if at all, and how many gallons, if any, it contained, are interesting questions for the enquiring mind. The Latin poem does not attack them, being occupied with the sanitary authorities and their pursuit of the reluctant nymph. The situation is quite Ovidian. First this went wrong, then that : it seemed as if they would never catch her, or only catch her muddy. Towards the last couplet she yields, and the “ Wismarii Patres ”

“ Bring (with the help of God) fresh water that is not  
brackish,  
Bring it in quite little pipes, all from the lake of  
Schwerin.”

These water-works are nicely seen from the *Old Swede*, a fifteenth-century restaurant hard by. Or one can eat round the corner, in the *Wädekin Hotel*, whose gable dates from 1363. After a heavy dinner, one moves across the market place to look at the splendid group of buildings that adjoins it on the west. This group contains two churches of cathedral size, a palace in the style of the Italian Renaissance, and, most wonderful of all, the Alte Schule. Here is a pageant of warm colour which shifts from ruddy brown to pink, a frank avowal of material in which the very restorations have dignity. Crude new bricks, the bricks of our Surrey suburbs, look strangely beautiful when set in the

midst of bricks that were crude and new some hundreds of years ago. There is no nicety of contour : a tower will try to be a spire, and then blunder back into a tower again. There is no hint of the city's personality, of her Presiding Genius : one town, if sensible, is very like another ; and it is not likely that a Wismarian father of twenty stone was severed by any spiritual gulf from a father of the same weight in Rostock. There is only brick. But, whereas the Rostock brick was pallid, and built churches the colour of King's Cross station, the brick of Wismar is red, and builds her into glory that is everlasting, because it can be for ever renewed.

The palace (not of brick) would, after all, be better in Italy ; and as for the churches, there are finer in Lübeck, though even Lübeck does not mass them in such splendour. But the Alte Schule is unique.

Mathematically described, the Alte Schule is a rhomboidal parallelopiped of black and red bricks ; irreverently described, it is like a long narrow cardboard box, which a naughty child has sat squashy at the corners ; reverently described, it is a hollow slice of fairy land, wherein should pace a queen, looking out through fairy windows upon a dull, rectangular world. It has the strange distinction of fantasy—stranger than ever in the midst of so many solid churches, solid houses, and four-square jokes—a fantasy which no restoration can destroy, for it depends, not on humoursome details, but on the building's very ground plan. Long, narrow, askew, with frequent windows on either side, and a tiny, stair-like gable at the end, it is as dainty as a jest in the music of Mozart, and as impossible to describe in writing. The Baltic stylist at Wismar, or it may be the spirit that presided over the trend of Wismar's streets, has produced a thing of beauty that is just a little unlike any other beautiful thing in the world.

From Wismar the railway, following the course of the quite little pipes, goes southward to Schwerin. But Schwerin is no bourgeois town ; and its glories are another, and possibly a greater matter.

E. M. FORSTER

## ON A NORTHERN MOOR

**B**EFORE the run was half over, to my great disappointment I found my horse going lame; and, dismounting, I stood and watched the hounds streaming away over the hill, the Master close behind them. It had been a day of blowing mists and rain; and they were soon out of sight. I turned sadly, and began to retrace my steps, walking beside my horse.

It was a wild and bitter edge of moorland that we were on—broken here and there by limestone and crags, and beset with dull-gleaming pools. The heather was bare and brown, and rustled in the wind; and there seemed no colour anywhere, till one looked closer and saw the green enamel of the mosses which grew among it.

The mist kept blowing past me, now thin and transparent like a veil, and now almost impenetrable; but below, where one could catch sight of the valley, the torn sky on the horizon showed suffused with a faint glow of coppery rose.

I had walked for about a mile along the ridge, and then down a long slope of white land to the south-east, when I suddenly heard what seemed the cry of a child. I was making for a shepherd's cottage just below a British camp I had noticed as we passed before, where I hoped I might be able to leave my horse for the night, and perhaps borrow the shepherd's pony to take me back to the *Redesdale Arms*. For to lead my poor lame beast across some five or six miles of boggy moorland in the growing darkness, was not an inviting prospect.

Probably the shepherd's child had strayed too far and was now frightened, and had lost her way in the driving mist. Yes; there she was—a little wild red-haired creature

## ON A NORTHERN MOOR

running towards me. She came up to me impetuously, crying aloud, with a torrent of words which I could not understand, and broken with quick sobs. Her hair was so unkempt and so blown by the wind, that I could hardly see her small freckled face and bright grey-green eyes.

I took her by the hand and tried to soothe her, telling her I was going to the cottage and would lead her safely home; but she tore her hand away and sprang to a distance, and, with more incomprehensible words and cries, seemed to urge me to follow her instead of seeking my guidance.

So wild a little creature I thought I had never seen; her clothes were indescribably torn and ragged, her brown legs bare, and she seemed more like some small wild animal than a human child.

I made a few steps towards her; she waited till I was almost within touch of her, and then fled away from me with the same passionate signs of distress and wildness. She seemed to flit over the broken ground like a Will-o'-the-wisp; and, encumbered with my lame horse, I followed her with some difficulty, calling to her in vain to lessen her fear of me.

For a moment or two I lost her in the mist; and then, as it cleared again, I saw at a little distance and by a great stone what looked like a figure lying on the ground. I pulled my horse's reins over his head and left him standing, and ran forward uncertainly. The child had disappeared; and, as I drew near, I saw that the thing I had seen by the stone was the body of a Roman soldier lying on the heather. I stood still in amazement; but I saw the gleam of the eagle-crested helmet; and then horror took me by the throat when I saw the face, for it was battered and beaten out of all human semblance. I could not move; but I turned my sickened eyes from it, and then I saw the heather and the grasses moving, and the figure of a woman who dragged herself, with incredible pain and slowness, towards it. Her hands grasped the heather tufts, as she drew her half-naked and wounded body nearer to him. Her red hair, which was wild and tangled like the child's, was blackened and drenched with blood; and she left a dark and cruel stain on the grasses as she moved nearer.

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

With a last superhuman and fearful effort, she reached the feet of the dead man, and laid her head upon them, covering them and her face with her blood-soaked hair.

I was so gripped by fear, by some power which held me motionless, that I could not speak nor stir.

The thing I thought I saw was so mad and wild, that, unknowing what I did, I fell forward in the grass on my knees.

When I could raise my head again, the kindly blowing clouds had hidden the sight of horror ; and before me I saw only the grey stones and the brown heather.

Then, once more, I heard the child's cry behind me ; and, turning my head, I saw on the ridge above me the figure of a man, gigantic in the mist. Half naked he seemed—or clad in ragged skins, and I thought I saw a great stone in his hand. With the other, he caught up the child who ran to him, and, flinging her over his shoulder, was gone in the mist. . . .

"Ye'll hev lost the hounds, sir, I 'spect, or mevvies ye've had a fall?" said a voice at my side ; and, my dazed senses returning to me, I rose to my feet, and found the shepherd and his black and white dogs beside me.

"Yes," I said, confusedly. "I—I—my horse is lamed, I think. I left him standing close by."

We walked together to where my horse was grazing quietly ; and, taking the bridle, I followed the shepherd down the hill. "If ye'll come wi' me, sir," he said, "I'll put in your horse, and mevvies ye'll be glad of a sup of something yersel', for it's a coldish day and ye're wet." And he walked beside me, his simple homely talk of the weather and his dogs comforting my trembling spirit wonderfully.

What strange trick had my brain been playing me ? Or had indeed some old cruel secret of the hills been revealed to me for a moment, and then jealously withdrawn again into their stricken hearts ?

The cottage kitchen was bright with firelight ; and a kettle was bubbling on the peats. "The missus must be out," he said ; "but she won't be long. I doubt she'll mevvies be fetching in the milk."

## ON A NORTHERN MOOR

Joe Hedley offered me the loan of his pony, which I gladly accepted, and also the offer of his company as far as the track which would take me down on to the main road at Greenchesters ; and, as the darkness was gathering fast and the mist turning to steady rain, I reluctantly rose to go. The door latch lifted ; and the shepherd's wife came in and greeted me kindly in her high-cadenced Northumbrian voice. "I was out after the bairn," she said ; "she will be running on the hill at all times and seasons ; and I feared for her in the mist."

As she moved into the light of the window, I noticed with a foolish start that her head was covered with a mass of glorious red hair, glowing like copper, though it was blown by the wind, and hanging in wet and heavy masses on her neck. The shepherd went out to saddle the pony ; and I looked at her more closely, thinking, with a silly trembling at my heart, of the wet red hair I had seen an hour ago. Her dress was neat and clean ; and I saw that she wore, on a piece of black cord or ribbon round her neck, a curious metal ornament or coin. I was staring at it half unconsciously when Joe came back.

"Ye're looking at my wife's locket," he said ; "it's a queer old thing she picked up on the hillside, close to yon big stone where I met you. It's Roman, they say ; and she's just taken a fancy to wear it, though it's an ugly thing, I tell her, and I'd soon as not buy her a bonnier when I'm away over to the mart—but she's a fancy for it," he said, laughing.

"May I look at it," I said ; and she came near me without shyness, and held it out without taking it off her neck. It was a metal badge of the Sixth Legion.

I thanked her, and bade her good-bye ; and she stood at the door to see us go, and, turning to wave my hand to her, I saw a red-haired child clinging to her skirts . . . I rode up more than once again during my brief holiday, to see my new friend, Joe Hedley ; for I had taken a great liking to him, and I must own I felt a certain curiosity about his wife, though this lessened on a nearer acquaintance with her, for she seemed a quiet, almost dull young woman, her wonderful hair being the only striking thing about her.



## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

It was not till a year or two later that I again visited the *Redesdale Arms*, and asked my host for news of the shepherd and his wife.

"Ah, sir," he said, "and did you nivvor see aal about the tarr'ble double tragiddy in the newspapers? Why, I thought the whole country would hear of it—but mevvies in Lunnon these things is not so uncommon as hereabouts. Why, it's a sad story, surely—and Joe, puir lad, we've never heard no more of him—he got awa clever, he did—and little gal with him—he was alwis varra set on the bairn—and aal the pollis after him too. Well, well, women is queer ones—and she such a decent body too, seemingly——"

"Why, what happened?" said I. "Did she leave him?"

"Lave him; aye—that she did; but 'twas Joe that did for her—puir misguidit lass—and her lover too.

"Well—I'll tell ye aal about it—Ye must know that last year the soldiers—from Newcassel, they had a camp over E—— way, an' were aal about the country-side sham-fightin' and scoutin' and such-like, and one o' them—a bonny fine lad he was too, he meets with Mistress Hedley and was ower much taken up with her—an' well, the upshot of it wes he wes oot courtin' her one day up at Burn End, and Joe he'd come home earlier than usual from the mart at Bellingham, an' he find them together—an' well—he'd had his suspicions nae doot, and he'd took his gun along with him—an' he shoots them baith, and leaves them lying on the heather by a great stone, and then he fetches the bairn and wins awa wiv her an' aal—and that's the last we've heard of him.

"They found his gun on the table, and a bit paper and he'd written—'God forgive me, but I'll hae nae whore for my wife.' There's a new shepherd up at Burn End now, 'Tom Hall' they ca' him, if ye've a mind to go and look him up."

But I had no mind or heart to ride again on that tragic hillside, lest the merciful veil which hid those fateful secrets should be once more drawn aside, and Atropos shew me her dread face.

MARNA PEASE

## TAXATION OF THE LIQUOR TRADE<sup>1</sup>

THE impolicy of handing over to private persons, or groups of persons, valuable properties created by the formal or informal activities of the public, is nowhere more manifest than in our existing system of licences for the sale of alcoholic liquors. By lavishing public gifts upon brewers and distillers, or their bondsmen, we have built up a trade whose pecuniary interests are, in many diverse ways, opposed to the public welfare, and which is enabled to defend and to promote these anti-social interests by using this public largesse to checkmate every attempt at effective public control. The economic and political strength of "the Trade" is so redoubtable, that even the stoutest Liberal Government quails before the prospect of a frontal attack upon so well-equipped and so ubiquitous a foe.

The proposal unfolded by Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell in the opening volume of their great work may be regarded as a flank movement, aiming to remove from the enemy the public subsidies upon which it has battered in the past, and, so, to reduce its power of effective resistance against other methods of public control. The most rigorous scientific analysis is applied to the discovery and measurement of the publicly-created income which it is proposed to reclaim; and the manifold irrationality and wastefulness of the present economy of licence duties are set forth with a most convincing array of illustrations. Using the comparative method, our authors show that the experiments in high and scientifically-graded duties, applied in other States

<sup>1</sup> *The Taxation of the Liquor Trade.* By Joseph Rowntree and Arthur Sherwell. Vol. I (Public houses, Hotels, Restaurants, Theatres, Railway Bars and Clubs). London: Macmillan & Co., 1906.

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

of Anglo-Saxon origin, our self-governing colonies and the United States, indicate the existence of an annual income of a good many million pounds, monopoly-profits of "the Trade," which can, by a judicious process of licence duties, be transferred to our national exchequer. *England's Treasure in her Liquor Licences*, which might have been the title of this work, doubtless has a sinister significance to many minds. Many would prefer to watch this treasure melt away, and are even reluctant to see the State dabbling her hands so deeply in "tainted money." But, so long as the drink traffic survives, it is not merely financially expedient, but morally obligatory, for the State to secure for public use the values due to legal restrictions on the sale of liquor.

There are two chief reasons why this source of public revenue has been so much neglected. Historically, the licensing system grew up, not as a measure of finance, but of police, conceived and directed in the cause of public order. In the second place, when brewing had ceased to be a domestic industry, it passed with great rapidity into the condition of a highly-organised and very profitable capitalist industry, sucking its profits, not from the visible tyranny of a single class, but from the voluntary cheerful submission of the entire body of the people, following one of the strongest bents of conservative consumption. The weak, diffused, hardly conscious interest of the general public, was thus confronted by the concentrated conscious interest of a rich business class. When Temperance became a genuine and vocal force in popular life, it frittered away in futile fanaticism the moral and political energy which might have been effective along some carefully-explored path of gradual reform. Hence "the Trade" has been able, not merely to hold its own, but greatly to strengthen its profitable monopoly during the past generation.

Although, more than half a century ago, the Liverpool Licensing Magistrates set out a powerful plea for high licensing, while more than a third of a century ago Mr. Bruce proposed that system of "public tender" for licences, to which our authors revert to-day, "the Trade" has always succeeded in defending itself against attempts to encroach upon its privilege. Even the well-meant endeavour of Mr.

## TAXATION OF THE LIQUOR TRADE

Gladstone, in his 1880 Budget, was defeated by a conjunction of trade cunning and circumstances; and "a golden opportunity was lost for adjusting anomalies that were serious then, and that since have become a fiscal scandal."

It is important to realise that "the Trade" is closer, stronger, richer, and relatively more lightly-taxed now, than it was in 1880. During this last period, the number of public houses in the United Kingdom has been reduced by 5,225, the population has increased by nearly eight millions, and the national expenditure on drink has increased by £23,000,000. This in itself implies that the possession of a licence is a more lucrative privilege than it was a quarter of a century ago. But that is not all. By allowing the freer use of substitutes for hops, malt, and other brewing requisites, the Government has enabled "the Trade" to take full advantage of cheaper raw materials, while at the same time raising the retail price of beer and spirits by lowering the strength or quality. "The Trade" has thus been gainer at both ends.

Though no means exist for the accurate estimate of the profits earned by "the Trade" as a whole, a strong body of cumulative evidence supports the view, that the average earnings of the paid-up capital must be enormously in excess of that paid on capital in ordinary competitive business. A Stock Exchange list of dividends during the ten years 1895-1904, paid in forty-four brewing and distilling companies, gives 9·2 per cent. as the average dividend, while another, more exhaustive list of company dividends for 1903, gives the slightly higher figure of 9·6 per cent. When it is borne in mind that these figures are necessarily derived from reports of companies, many, if not most, of which have watered their capital heavily, we begin to realise something of the probable dimensions of the surplus profit created by the State and enjoyed by "the Trade."

The entire scheme of licence duties is a maze of intricate irrationality and injustice. The assumption of rateable values as a basis of assessment for licence duties, the methods of ascertaining rateable values, the operation of a scale of duties according to which houses of an annual value below

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

£10 pay 60 per cent. in licence duty, while houses approaching £5,000 pay only 1·3 per cent., the discrimination between town and rural publicans, the practical immunity enjoyed by great hotels, theatres, and music halls, the tax-dodging practised by railroads in the station-bars and their sale of liquor upon trains, the foolish, injurious exemptions enjoyed by clubs—wherever one touches the machinery for the retail sale of liquor, the glaring anomalies of our existing licensing system stand out.

Whether we regard the problem primarily from the standpoint of public revenue, or from that of public order, a firm, bold, comprehensive treatment is required. Our authors produce a formidable mass of evidence in support of an organised high licence duty applied to every sort of retail vendor. It is shown that, in every one of our self-governing colonies, far larger licence duties are exacted than here, though the less general habit of strong drink makes licences less valuable. But the most varied fund of accurate information is derived from the United States, where many experiments in high licence have been tried in recent years. Comparing towns of equal population in the United Kingdom with those in the various States of the Union, we learn that “the average licence duty for public houses in the American towns is *more than five times as much* as the average in similar towns in this country.” If we take the more advanced industrial States, with large city populations, the contrast is even more remarkable. If the yield of our duties per 1,000 of the city population was raised to the level of similar groups in Massachusetts, the increase to our public revenue would be £8,401,000 per annum. If the standard of New York State were taken, an increase amounting to over £14,000,000 would accrue to our Exchequer from the urban districts alone. “As a matter of fact, the annual revenue from liquor licences in the single city of New York exceeds, by upwards of £100,000, the total annual revenue from liquor licences in *the whole of the United Kingdom.*”

Even when due allowance has been made for the higher rates of customs and excise imposed in this country, it appears that “the Trade” bears far more taxation in America

## TAXATION OF THE LIQUOR TRADE

than here. A comparison with the United States as a whole shows, that the same rate of taxation adopted here would raise an increased revenue of more than eight millions ; while the higher scale in New York State would yield an annual increase in the present liquor and licence duties of twenty-seven and a half millions, or even more, if the special war taxes of the last few years were remitted, and the comparison with America were placed upon the *ante bellum* level.

Notwithstanding the heavier taxation laid on the production and sale of liquor in the United States and most of our colonies, there is reason to believe that the capital in the brewing and distilling trade in these countries affords a handsome return to investors. The taxes are there borne with comparative ease. It is not of course necessary to assume that taxes up to the New York level or beyond could justly or productively be applied in this country : retail prices are generally much higher in American saloons than in this country, and probably a larger margin exists between cost of production and selling price, on which taxation will lie. But, while this consideration invalidates any precise application of American standards, foreign and colonial experience certainly points to the existence of a great taxable fund of surplus profits, due to the restrictions upon competition under our licensing system. A smaller number of brewing and distilling businesses are continually engaged in handling a larger volume of trade, done at a cheapening cost of production and a rising level of prices per unit of gravity ; a diminishing number of larger and more economically managed houses do the bigger business of the supply of liquor to a growing population. Hence arises a constantly growing increment of profit, unearned by publican or brewer, earned or created by two sets of social conditions, one affecting the supply of, the other the demand for, alcoholic liquor, both receiving the official stamp of the licensing authority.

Justice and social expediency agree in marking out this fund for taxation. The proposal which commends itself to Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell is summarised by them in the following propositions :

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

“That it is in the interests of revenue, and of Temperance, to substitute for the present basis of taxation a system of public tender, whereby the monopoly value of licences may be automatically determined, and the recurrence of the compensation difficulty be prevented.

“That, as a first step towards the recovery of the full monopoly value of licences, and as a means of securing to the State full and absolute control over all licences, a time-notice should be given to all holders of existing licences, in final and definitive settlement of all claims to ‘equitable consideration.’

“That the liquor licence duties should be at once revised and considerably increased, so as to secure an adequate commutation fund and increased revenue to the State.”

Suppose that, in pursuance of this policy, the State and the municipalities were placed in possession of a large new source of revenue, amounting to, say, £12,000,000 or £15,000,000 a year. Would this imperil the cause of Temperance, as is sometimes urged? It is strange to find many Temperance advocates answering this question in the affirmative. Do they suggest that Mr. Asquith, or another able Chancellor of the Exchequer, will, in the present interests of public finance, object to Temperance reforms which reduce the Drink Bill, ignoring entirely the consideration that such increase of temperance will reduce the public expenditure on Poor Law and the prison system, while it will, by enhancing the productivity of labour, increase the general yield of taxes upon income, property, and various other taxable funds? We are surely justified in holding that neither national nor municipal statesmen will be so blindly ignorant as to ignore this side of the equation in the Temperance policy.

One point, an economic one, is left in doubt by Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell. Will the brewers and publicans be able to throw all or any of the increased licence duties on the consumer, by raising retail prices or reducing the strength or quality of the liquor? The writers hold (p. 430)

## TAXATION OF THE LIQUOR TRADE

that such increase in taxation as has taken place since 1880 has "been paid, not by 'the Trade' but by the consumer," pointing to the fact that in recent years the gravity of beer has been reduced, and spirits have been diluted and deteriorated. "The Trade," in fighting increased taxes, has always declared its intention and its ability to make the consumer pay the tax. The brewers and distillers will undoubtedly try the same economic bluff against the new proposal of high licence duties, seeking to alarm the drinking public by the prospect of a large advance in prices, and a fall in strength and quality of drink. But, if we are right in regarding the liquor trade as consisting practically in a group of local and national "monopolies," earning abnormally high profits because they are enabled to fix the price of drinks above the limit which free competition would prescribe, it cannot be true that "the Trade" will throw on the consumer all, or any considerable share, of the new taxation. The taxation of 1880 did not really enable or oblige "the Trade" to reduce the gravity of beer. Had there been no such taxation, it could, and probably would, have reduced the gravity just the same: it was a case of *post hoc, non propter hoc*. A beer monopolist has no more real power to shift a direct tax imposed upon his surplus profits, than a land-owner to shift a tax on his rent. He sometimes makes a pretext of a new burden to claim a rise in rent or price which he could otherwise have got; that is all.

Possibly Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell look to the rise of retail prices, following high licence duties, for a reduction in the consumption of drink. But there is no reason why a new taxing system, which reduced the profits on brewing capital from 9 to (say) 6 per cent., should make it advantageous for brewers to raise the retail price of beer. They have already fixed a price, not under the pressure of keen competition, which they calculate to yield the largest net profit on their trade; and the new tax will not obviously make it more profitable to raise that price. At any rate, the capacity of the brewers to shift the tax on to the consumer, in enhanced price or reduced quality, must be comparatively slight. If the whole or the main part of the high duties can really be thrown on the consumer, and the public is convinced that the brewers



## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

could make good their threat thus to raise their prices, I can assure Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell that they are labouring in vain in proposing this high scale of licence duties. They will only succeed if it is quite clearly understood that the new taxation will really come out of the surplus profits of "the Trade," not out of the pockets of the drinkers. Personally I entertain no doubt upon the matter. The brewers and distillers will bear the whole, or nearly the whole, of the proposed new taxation, and will be unable to make good their threats to raise the price or lower the quality of the drink.

J. A. HOBSON

## WHAT IS TRUTH?<sup>1</sup>

THE question "What is truth?" is one which every philosopher ought to face, although, unfortunately, since Pontius Pilate's rather ill-timed introduction of it, it has become unfashionable to ask it. Mr. Joachim has done very well in undertaking a serious and careful discussion of the nature of truth. The advocates of any system of philosophy are too apt to assume its fundamentals as indubitable, and devote themselves to the mere development of consequences. This course is attractive, both because it is easy, and because it seems to achieve more in the way of positive construction. But, so long as disagreement on fundamentals persists, the development of consequences must appear as in the main waste labour to those who do not accept the premisses. Mr. Joachim's book is valuable as an attempt to establish some of the fundamentals of the Hegelian philosophy; and, whether wholly successful or not, such an attempt is almost sure to be a help in defining the issues, and in suggesting ways of deciding them.

The book discusses three different theories of the nature of truth, and then proceeds to discuss error. The first theory of truth, which is the one the plain man would naturally adopt, is that truth consists in the correspondence of our statements or beliefs with the facts. This view is open to criticism from many points of view. Mr. Joachim criticises it on the grounds that the "correspondence" involved supposes a collection of distinct "facts," which gives too atomic a view of the world, and that there is not really such a separation of judgment and outside fact as the theory supposes. In

<sup>1</sup> *The Nature of Truth. An Essay by Harold H. Joachim. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906.*

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

this criticism, he assumes that everything is modified by its relations to everything else, so that no two things are really independent, and that you cannot speak quite truly about anything without speaking the whole truth about everything. The assumption that everything is modified by its relations to everything else, being rejected by the second theory of truth which Mr. Joachim examines, is defended in the course of the examination of this theory.

The second theory (which is held by the present reviewer) maintains that truth is primarily a property of *facts*, which are something external to minds and to mind. "That the earth goes round the sun," it says, is true, independently of whether any one thinks so, and independently of even the mere notion of its being thought. The *belief* that the earth goes round the sun, according to this theory, is true in a derivative sense, namely the sense that it is a belief in a *fact*; but the fact itself, the actual revolution of the earth round the sun, is something quite different from the belief in the fact.

This theory, as Mr. Joachim points out, stands or falls with the view that "experiencing makes no difference to the facts." If I see a banker's clerk descending from a 'bus, my seeing him does not turn him into a hippopotamus, but leaves him just what he would have been if I hadn't seen him. This is denied by Mr. Joachim, on the ground that experiencing a fact is a relation to the fact, and that everything is modified by its relations. The view that everything is modified by its relations, is, of course, in one sense obviously true. But the sense in which it is assumed by Hegelians is not the sense in which it is *obviously* true. What they mean may, I think, be roughly expressed as follows. Suppose A is the father of B. Then, if you try to think of A without at the same time thinking of B, you are not really thinking about A at all, since paternity to B is part of A's nature. You are thinking instead of an abstraction, in which you have omitted paternity to B, which is essential to the real A. Similarly, if A, instead of being a person, is some fact which B knows, you cannot think of A without at the same time thinking of B, since "being known to B" is part of A's nature. It follows,

## WHAT IS TRUTH ?

since everything is related, more or less, to everything else, that to think quite truly, you must think the whole truth ; everything except the whole truth about the whole world omits something essential, and thereby fails to be quite true.

It is astonishing how far-reaching are the consequences of this logical doctrine as to relations. It leads straight to the view that nothing is quite real except the universe as a whole ; that time, space, and matter, are unreal abstractions ; and that there can be no reality which is not known to mind, though it may be unknown to this or that mind. I do not mean that Hegelians put forward this doctrine of relations as the foundation of their system, I mean that, when their arguments are analysed, they are all found to assume it, consciously or unconsciously. In Mr. Joachim's book, the assumption is conscious ; but, unfortunately, nothing is done to support the assumption, except to show that its rejection leads to consequences which are incompatible with it—a characteristic which it shares with other assumptions.

The third view of truth, which Mr. Joachim considers better than either of the others, though not quite adequate, is the view of truth as *coherence*. This follows naturally from the doctrine that nothing is wholly true except the whole truth. Thus, a whole science is truer than any part of it ; and so on. The essence of truth, in this view, is systematic coherence in an organic whole. The difficulty, to my mind, of accepting this as more than a *criterion* is, that the meaning of coherence remains obscure, and that there is no evidence that there can only be *one* body of coherent propositions. One can imagine quite different worlds from the one we live in, just as coherent as this one.<sup>1</sup> As a *criterion*, coherence, in some sense, is certainly invaluable ; but when used as a criterion, there is always some nucleus with which other things have to cohere, the nucleus itself being accepted not only on account of its coherence with something else.

The last chapter, on Error, is very interesting, and is greatly to be commended for its candour. The problem of

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Joachim endeavours to show that this is impossible ; but I fail to see any force in his argument (see p. 78).

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

error, like the problem of evil, exists only for an optimist. If your theory proves that everything is good and true, it is awkward to have to add a postscript to say that after all some things are bad and false. The coherence-theory of truth, however, provides an opportunity for error which is very convenient. Nothing, on this theory, is quite true except the whole truth; on the other hand, nothing is quite false. Thus error consists in supposing a partial truth to be quite true. "The erring subject's confident belief in the truth of his knowledge distinctively characterises error, and converts a partial apprehension of the truth into falsity." That is to say, error consists solely in rejecting the Hegelian doctrine that no single proposition can be quite true. So long as you do not reject this doctrine, and yet avoid thinking *it* quite true, you are safe. This reminds one of the Catholic doctrine, that the sin against the Holy Ghost consists in the belief that a man can be saved without merit, *i. e.* in the acceptance of Justification by Faith, which is (or rather was) the distinctive dogma of Protestantism.

But it is difficult to make this theory of error fit the facts. Suppose A swears that B committed a murder, and B swears he didn't, when in fact he did. If the jury, not being Hegelians, believe that A is speaking quite truly, they will surely be less in error than if they believe that B is speaking quite truly. Yet, on Mr. Joachim's theory, both beliefs ought to be equally erroneous, since each is a half-truth. The jury, to avoid error, ought, whatever the evidence, to decide that B is half guilty and half not-guilty; and the judge ought to sentence him to be half hanged and half acquitted. But it will be unnecessary actually to pass sentence. For, if everything is a half-truth, *everybody* must be half hanged and half acquitted; and the operation of the law is superfluous.

These farcical deductions are, of course, avoided by the theory of degrees of truth. Although everybody is more or less hanged, some are much more hanged than others. This doctrine has difficulties of its own, especially the difficulty, which is fully faced and discussed by Mr. Joachim, that if no single truth is quite true, it cannot be quite true that no truth is quite true. This difficulty, inherent in the conten-

## A HISTORY OF MODERN LIBERTY

tion that only the whole truth is wholly true, leads Mr. Joachim to the admission, that the coherence-theory is not quite adequate, and that his result is mainly negative. Nevertheless he says : "That the truth itself is one, and whole, and complete, and that all thinking and all experience moves within its recognition and subject to its manifest authority ; this I have never doubted."

The book is thoroughly self-consistent, and is a well-sustained endeavour to probe what is perhaps the most difficult of all problems. Agreement among philosophers is not to be expected ; but it is desirable that each of the great types of philosophy should render its foundations explicit. And to this process Mr. Joachim has made a most useful contribution.

B. RUSSELL

## A HISTORY OF MODERN LIBERTY<sup>1</sup>

**I**N these two volumes Dr. Mackinnon sustains the reputation which his works on Edward III. and French History have already secured him. It is a reputation which will make this book more ready of acceptance among the general public, than it will or ought to be to the student. For the serious student these volumes will be found to be of small service ; they contain little that is new, and that little is by no means invariably true. Mr. Andrew Lang, for instance, is a scholar of far too great a name both for accuracy and learning to have his views on John Knox and the Scottish Reformation dismissed in the summary fashion which seems to suit Dr. Mackinnon ; nor is the right by which the portrait of Knox appears in life-size, while many others are miniatures, at all evident to the Southerner.

The book professes to be a history of modern liberty ; and that the general reader will find in it very much that is of interest is undoubted. In estimating a work like this, it

<sup>1</sup> *A History of Modern Liberty.* By James Mackinnon, Ph.D. London : Longmans, Green & Co., 1906.

## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

is not altogether fair to judge it by a standard, to which it clearly was never intended to conform. As we know, the very idea of a History of Liberty, which should speak only at first hand and cover all the ground, overtasked the learning and strained the powers of Acton. It is, in fact, impossible. A history of modern liberty, to be complete, must go into its origins, must relate the development of those institutions by which freedom has been first acquired and then preserved, and must, above all, trace the evolution and estimate the significance of those ideas which alone make liberty more than a phrase, and redeem constitution-mongering from futility. To do this, and do it at first hand, is impossible. The task is harder than that which Buckle imposed on himself, who died before he had got through more than about one fifth of what was intended to be only the introduction to the history of civilisation in England.

Dr. Mackinnon, however, has taken warning by the failure of Buckle and the great book unwritten of Acton, and has attempted something quite different. He has tried to give us a bird's-eye view of history, marking especially those regions which are most important for the lover of liberty. He does this with no charm of style, and with little power of impressing his readers with a sense of the dignity of his subject. For assuredly no theme can be loftier to any one who realises what freedom means, how liberty and the need of it involve all that is noblest in history, how the pursuit of liberty is an ideal in essence spiritual, is, in fact, the quest of the Sang Real in the past, and binds together in equal glory the Christian and the heathen, the Greek and the Jew. To us, indeed, in the twentieth century, the cry seems almost strange; and the call of freedom to her champions rings faint and far-off to an age drunk with riches and dazzled with material achievement. Ask the clever schoolboy, or the undergraduate scholar of to-day, what he means by "liberty"; and he will languidly deny that he means anything (which is true), and assert that nobody else ever meant anything—which is blasphemy. Nothing is more indicative of the degradation of ideals, and that throttling of the soul, which are the outcome of sheltered lives and stable comfort, than the

## A HISTORY OF MODERN LIBERTY

changed attitude towards causes like Italian freedom, of social justice, which has come over, not the average, but the picked results of modern education. Liberty may be only one of "the spiritual ambitions and imaginative loves" of mankind. But it is one so indispensable, that if ever it be lost, the others will go too. Nor can, I think, any one have had much acquaintance with the intellectual *élite* of youth, without seeing how vast a deterioration has set in, without observing the numbers of men who have no notion of liberty, justice, or truth, save so far as they can make marks by writing examination essays thereupon, no interest in any ideals save so far as they will obtain them a position in life, and very little even of personal ambition except to carry them to a competence—and save them from the sneers of the respectable. The causes which excited Englishmen a generation and a half ago have lost, not so much their attraction, as their meaning for our age. We have enshrined a new idol, and worship no longer Liberty but *Respectability*. Until the average Englishman shall learn that, however necessary as an expedient, respectability is a sorry principle of living, and a yet sorrier object of religion, it is not likely that books on Liberty will have many readers.

For this reason, if for no other, I welcome Dr. Mac-kinnon's work. It testifies a *naïf* belief which is too rare to-day. At least the author is interested in freedom, if nobody else is; and, if his enthusiasm now and then out-runs his knowledge, that is so rare a quality in modern writers of history, that we can forgive him a few inaccuracies, and perhaps put up with a little prejudice. I do not agree with a great deal that he says; I think he has not enough sympathy with the medieval world to understand it, and too much with Puritanism to discern its limitations. It seems to me a very great pity that he should adopt so contemptuous a tone in speaking of scholasticism, and more especially of S. Thomas Aquinas, of whom Acton said that "not the devil but S. Thomas was the first Whig."

The chapter on political theory in the Middle Ages is meagre to a degree, though it is well that so much stress should be laid on Nicolas of Cusa. The *Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos* is attributed to the wrong author, and assigned



## THE INDEPENDENT REVIEW

to the wrong date, unless I am greatly mistaken ; nor can I understand why so much attention should be paid to Buchanan's little book *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, and so little to others more important. The author does not seem always to know what he is doing ; and he has a habit, most irritating, of quoting at second hand. He ought, before he proceeds with this work, to make up his mind on one or two points. Is his book designed to be institutional history, or political ? Or is it to be a history of ideas ; or is it to be all three ? The present two volumes hardly make this clear enough. Moreover, it seems quite out of place to spend so much time on English history, still more Scottish. This book is designed for the general reader, who already knows at least something about the history of his native country. What he needs to be shown is, the history of the idea of liberty all over the Western world ; the forces that are opposed to it and sometimes vanquish it ; and, above all, its connection with religious movements. Nobody will ever understand the development of modern liberty, who undervalues the force of religious conviction. It may safely be said that, but for the intensity of religious conviction, alike in Jesuits, Anabaptists, and Calvinists, there would have been no effective barrier to the onward march of the non-moral monster of Hobbes and Machiavelli, and that, along with truth, both justice and liberty would have been sacrificed for ever to efficiency, and the soul of man become enslaved to "reason of State." It is because Dr. Mackinnon helps us, in part at least, to see how this was the case, that his work will prove of service to many, despite considerable deficiencies both in style and substance.

J. NEVILLE FIGGIS

---

\*.\* *It is desirable that no contributions should be sent without previous communication with the Editor, who cannot undertake to return unsolicited MSS.*

*Publishers are requested not to send books for review. The Editor will venture to apply for copies of such works as it is desired to notice.*

# STANDARD BIOGRAPHIES

OF

**RICHARD COBDEN**

**LORD BEACONSFIELD**

**SAVONAROLA**

**MACHIAVELLI**

**MOFFAT**

**RALEIGH**

**HOLYOAKE**

*By such well-known writers as*

**JOHN MORLEY, M.P.**

**Professor VILLARI**

**T. P. O'CONNOR, M.P.**

*etc.*

**Each Complete in One Volume. Illustrated**

***Large Crown 8vo, Cloth***

***2/6 Net Each***

**T. FISHER UNWIN**

Specially introduced at the request of the Medical Faculty

**Fry's**

**MALTED  
COCOA**

*A combination of Fry's Pure Cocoa and . . .*

*. . . Allen and Hanbury's Extract of Malt*

**STRONGLY RECOMMENDED BY THE MEDICAL PRESS**

## **MODERN SPAIN**

A New Edition of Major Martin Hume's great work, with portraits of the King and Queen, and a new preface in which the bearings of the marriage on the future of Spain are discussed. Story of the Nations, 5/-

## **MODERN SPAIN**

### **ST. JAMES'S ELECTRIC BATHS**

Removed to 1, York Street,  
St. James's Square.  
Mrs. Wiseman.

### **FIRE AND SWORD IN THE CAUCASUS**

*See page vii*

**DELICIOUS FOR BREAKFAST  
& AFTER DINNER.**

**RED  
WHITE  
COFFEE, & BLUE**

*In making, use less quantity, it being  
much stronger than ordinary COFFEE.*









OCT 10 1906



